



An Outline of
ANGLO-AMERICAN BIBLE HISTORY



1 Clarified version of the Great Bible title-page, from Lewis's "History of English Bible Versions"

An Outline of

ANGLO-AMERICAN BIBLE HISTORY

By Edgar Newgass



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TO MY WIFE
for her unflagging interest and support

O Englishmen!—in hope and creed,
 In blood and tongue our brothers!
We too are heirs of Runnymede;
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
 Are not alone our mother's.

Joint heirs and kinfolk, leagues of wave
 Nor length of years can part us:
Your right is ours to shrine and grave,
The common freehold of the brave,
 The gift of saints and martyrs.

WHITTIER ("To Englishmen")

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INTRODUCTION

It has been well written that "there is nothing new under the sun", and it must be admitted that the story of the English Bible is a far more than "twice told tale". History however does not consist so much in the relating of facts, as in the relating of facts to each other, a process susceptible of infinite variations. For example, most of us are familiar with "William the Conqueror, 1066"; but it may not have registered with us that over half a century before the Norman Conquest, the Norseman Lief Ericson was not inconceivably establishing small Norse colonies in North America, one of which, Vinland, would have been far enough south to produce the vines for which it is believed to have been named. As Ericson is moreover credited with having already embraced Christianity, it is not unreasonable to assume that portions of the Latin Vulgate could have accompanied him—the earliest form in which the Scriptures would have reached America.

It behoves the conscientious historian however to steer as steady a course as possible between the Scylla of too confiding credulity and the Charybdis of over-cautious scepticism. And at every stage he must be prepared to question the schoolroom version of history in which most of us have been nurtured, and which tells us, for instance, that Columbus was the first to reach America, whereas the Cabots sailing out of Bristol, appear to have discovered Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island over a year before Columbus sighted the shores of South America—both explorers bound, as they believed, for Asia! Again, it is quite commonly believed that the Pilgrim Fathers were the first to establish a permanent settlement in North America whereas, as a result of a number of earlier abortive or near abortive projects of the kind, there was already in being quite a flourishing colony in Virginia whither the "Mayflower" was bound when it landed up near Plymouth and the settlers decided to call it a day. Nor, as it happened, had they originally set out from Plymouth, England, but from Southampton where there rises an interesting memorial to their prowess—for Virginia or no, prowess of a high degree it certainly was.

It may be said that a number of corresponding misconceptions obtain in respect to the history of the English Bible. I first became interested in the subject before the War and soon thereafter commenced collecting rare Bibles; and bearing these bulky tomes triumphantly home from auction or dealer, I became convinced that the Word of God was still a pretty weighty matter! Ultimately I found myself the proud possessor of perhaps one of the choicest small collections of first edition early English printed Bibles then left in private hands.

I had in the meantime embarked on a book on the subject which when it ultimately appeared in print proved to contain a number of mistakes, due at any rate in part, to

the original work having been carried out during the war—or immediately post-war years when it had to be sandwiched in with more urgent tasks, and also—for much the same reasons—to too hurried proof-reading on my part. It had however entailed extensive study and research in the course of which I had further accumulated a veritable library of reference and other books relating to the subject, all of which has contributed to the present book. I must nevertheless emphatically repudiate any claim to know all there is to know about the English Bible, or that this work represents anything approaching an exhaustive study of the subject. All that we purport to provide is a sort of panorama of available information while, here and there perhaps breaking a little fresh ground.

Such a conception however imposes its own problems, one of which is to determine what should be included and what is best omitted. The temptation is so to overburden the book with interesting but irrelevant information that the reader will be “unable to see the wood for the trees”. On the other hand it is possible to leave out something with which the expert will be familiar but the omission of which will throw the ordinary reader off his stride. At one stage I resorted to the admittedly none too satisfactory method of footnotes wherewith to provide for material which I hesitated to ignore but which, if introduced into the text, might have interrupted continuity and distracted the reader’s attention.

I had thus built up quite a formidable array of footnotes when I chanced to read P. G. Wodehouse’s hugely diverting “Over Seventy”, the opening section of which constitutes a diatribe against footnotes which is as devastating as it is amusing. I thereupon hurriedly worked as many of my own as possible into the body of the book and scrapped the rest; after which I proceeded to amass a fresh supply but on a more modest scale. As it is impossible to please everyone, I decided that I would please myself. In this connection I must make it clear that I alone am responsible for any possible mistakes that might have crept into these pages and that these could in no way reflect on those individuals who have so kindly helped me over this book, and to whom I would like to express here my most grateful thanks. They include Thomas Leishman, M.A., B.D., and the Rev. Erik Routley, for a great deal of assistance in connection with the original book in so far as that enters into the present publication; various officials at the British Museum, especially—again in respect to the previous book—Mr. L. A. Sheppard of the Department of Printed Books and—in relation to the present one—Mr. G. I. Bonner of the Department of Manuscripts; to successive Librarians at the British and Foreign Bible Society; the Librarian at Cambridge University Library in respect to the matter of the King James Bible title-pages; Mr. Stephen Hanna of Trinity College, Dublin, in connection with the Irish Bible; and the Rev. Ronald Tree for much help over Welsh Bibles.

I am also greatly indebted to Lt.-Col. R. E. Key for reading through the present book in its initial stages; to Miss Margaret Hill of the American Bible Society for much help over the American section of this book; to the Librarian of the Rare Books Department at the Library of Congress in Washington who, on the strength

of my British Museum Reading Room pass, made me free of books on the Aitken Bible to which I might not otherwise have had access; to the British Museum again for permission to reproduce the illustrations to which its name attaches; to the Reserve Division of New York Public Library in respect to the title-page of their copy of the Bay Psalm Book; and to Warren Howell for kindly allowing me to reproduce the copy of the Aitken Bible title-page from Dearden and Watson's "The Bible of the Revolution" published by his father, the late John Howell of San Francisco. I am gratefully beholden to the Bodleian, at Oxford, for the Cædmon illustration, and to Bristol Baptist College for helpful interest over the Tyndale New Testament reproduction.

The illustrations in this book demand a few words of explanation. The idea has been to reproduce at least one page from each of the principal Scriptural versions which enter into it. It will be observed that the earlier ones consist of pages of text while the later ones take the form of title-pages. The reason for this demarcation is that title-pages did not come into general use much before the first quarter of the sixteenth century though first introduced about the year 1470.

At the end of the book there is a brief Hexapla consisting of a few Old and New Testament verses from two Reformation Bibles, Coverdale and Genevan, and four representative modern versions. In this connection my grateful acknowledgements are tendered to Cambridge University Press and E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc. of New York for permission to quote from the Bible in Basic English; to the University of Chicago Press in respect to the Smith and Goodspeed Bible; to Hodder and Stoughton in connection with the Moffatt Bible; and to Thomas Nelson and Sons, publishers of the American Revised Standard Version.

January 1958

E. N.

Faith shares the future's promise; Love's
Self-offering is a triumph won;
And each good thought or action moves
The dark world nearer to the sun.

WHITTIER ("The Voices")

ERRATA

Page 28, line 4: *for 1520 read 1620*

Page 33, line 20: *for Matthew Carey read Mathew Carey*

Page 34, 3rd para., line 1: *for textural read textual*

Page 40, line 36: *for 1561 read 1516*

Page 44: *add A.D. 706 Aldhelm's Psalter*

1611 King James Bible

1 SCRIPTURAL ORIGINS

PART of the purpose of this book is to honour those intrepid characters without whose heroic and devoted labours there might have been no English Bible or, in fact, any Bible at all. But we are also considering something bigger than individuals, the operation of Truth and Love in human affairs, inexorably leading or compelling men towards the Light. Let us then visit for a space with some of these folk, enter a little into their lives, and at the same time view the wider scene in which they played their part.

In the beginning we see divinely inspired symbolism giving place to dramatic biography, the biographies of those children of men who had been touched by the divine afflatus and whose religious faith was in the far future to furnish a spring-board for Christianity itself. From these patriarchal antecedents there emerges a people self-dedicated, almost in spite of themselves, to the worship of an invisible, supreme, albeit only spasmodically acknowledged, Deity, a condition which was to set them apart from, and afford them a measure of dominion over, the nations among which they sojourned.

At a certain critical point in their history there arises a great leader who, in framing laws and ordinances for the religious and civil government of his people, turns to God for inspiration and guidance. He strengthens their faith by gathering up the threads of earlier records into something of a national history which subsequently came to form the basis of what is now known as the Pentateuch or the five books of Moses.

The actual formation of these books in their present form, as also the records of such succeeding great Bible characters as Samuel, David, Isaiah, and so on, belongs to a later period of Jewish history. The first book of the Bible to appear is generally believed to have been that of the prophet Amos, assigned to the second half of the eighth century before Christ, while the Book of Psalms only assumed its present form about a hundred years before the Christian era.¹

2 HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN TEXTS

A DESIRE for the sacred Word in the vernacular tongue has actuated Jew and Christian alike from early times. When Hebrew, although remaining the official language

¹ The Old Testament Canon was established in the early part of the second century A.D., though it is said to have been virtually closed from about 200 B.C. The New Testament Canon was first affirmed in the West at the Council of Carthage in A.D. 397 and was re-affirmed by the Eastern and Western Churches at the 6th Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (A.D. 680-1).

of Jewish worship, had given place to Aramaic in the everyday speech of the Jews, portions of the Scriptures were rendered into Aramaic and were known as Targums. When in due course the Greek Empire came into being, the Old Testament Scriptures were translated into that tongue, primarily for the benefit of the great Greek-speaking Jewish community of Alexandria, in the form of what is known as the Septuagint, and it was in Greek that the Epistles and Gospels later came to be written. Again, when the Roman Empire extended over the civilised world of that day, both the Old and New Testaments were rendered into Latin, first the so-called Old Latin versions, and then, about A.D. 400, the Latin Vulgate version executed by the great scholar Jerome.

It was by virtue of Rome's standing as the capital city of the Empire and the hub of civilisation that she came to be recognised as the centre of Christendom. Thus it was that central authority came to be vested in the Bishop of Rome, who became known as the Holy Father, Papa,¹ or Pope, and that Latin became the official language of the Western Church for Christian worship everywhere. Both conditions continued even after the Roman Empire had been fragmented into a number of separate nations again, each with its own language. Rome sincerely believed that Christian worship in a common tongue constituted a great unifying factor in a world often divided by bitter contention, and it also took not unreasonable exception to vernacular versions of the Scriptures rendered by individuals deemed unqualified who held what the Church regarded as heretical opinions. A licence to translate the Scriptures was nevertheless sometimes granted to monks or scholars, but such versions were generally executed for some important prelate or a great nobleman and would not be available to the common man. In spite of that there came into being a number of other translations, though the issue did not develop into a burning one until some time after Bishop Ulfila's Gothic fourth-century rendering of the Bible or parts of it executed for the benefit of the Goths who had previously carried his family away captive from their native Cappadocia; and among whom, like St. Patrick who was also to minister the Word to his erstwhile Irish captors, Ulfila laboured as a Christian missionary.

"We have this treasure in earthen vessels" and Rome for the most part reflected the spirit of the times, whether medieval corruption, sensuality, and splendour, or periodical reaction to that. Thus there were noble-minded as well as ignoble Popes, as for instance Gregory the Great, of Angles and Angels fame, who, when his own hoped-for mission to Britain was prevented by his election to the Papacy, sent the pedestrian and troublesome Augustine instead, with the following instructions:

"Your brotherhood knoweth the custom of the Church of Rome in which you were brought up. But it pleaseth me that if you have found anything be it in the Church of Rome, France, or any other, that may more please God, that you choose that, and plant in the English Church, which as yet is but late come to

¹ A title at first shared with other bishops, but ultimately exclusive, in the West, to Rome.

the faith, the best orders that you can choose and gather out of them all. . . . Choose then out of each church, and that that is most godly, most religious, most best of any of them."

3 BRITAIN

CHRISTIANITY is popularly supposed to have first found its way to Britain through Roman slaves, merchants, and legionaries,¹ augmented in the middle of the sixth century by the advent in the far north of a small but devoted band of Irish missionaries through whose labours many of the wild Scottish tribesmen were converted to Christianity and whose leader, St. Columba, strangely enough, passed away in the far north in the same year—A.D. 597—that Augustine landed in the extreme south. To these casual and individual efforts Augustine now added the stabilising effect of an established organisation, and it was in such an atmosphere that about three-quarters of a century later (towards the end of the seventh century) there eventuated in the north of Britain the first known attempt to render the Scriptures into English. This was, at any rate in part, the work of Cædmon, a hitherto tongue-tied herdsman who had suddenly felt inspired, in the words of Thorpe's modern rendering to :

" . . . praise the Guardian of heaven's kingdom, the Creator's might and his mind's thought."

Cædmon couched his work in lovely metrical paraphrases, but although styled "The Morning-star of English Song" he was not a scholar and was dependent for his Scriptural material on the royal foundress and abbess of the monastery where he worked. It is moreover necessary to add that modern scholarship casts doubts on his authorship of more than one item in the illustrated tenth-century copy of what passes loosely for his work, in the shape of the Junius XI MS. in the Bodleian, in which the following relates to Noah (see Plate 2) :

"Noah zealously, as his Preserver bade him, obeyed the holy King of heaven; began forthwith the house to build, the great sea-chest; said to his kinsmen, that a dire thing was about to befall the nations, harsh punishment:—of this they recked not. Saw then, after a lapse of winters, the upright Creator the greatest of sea-houses arise complete; within and without, with lime of earth, strengthened

¹ We must reluctantly by-pass, as having little bearing on the matter in hand, the intriguing legends relating to Joseph of Arimathea; his kinship, if so be, with Jesus, and the latter's problematical early visits to Britain in his company ("And did those feet in ancient time walk upon England's mountains green"—or could Blake have envisaged Jesus' seeking a retreat there after the Crucifixion?); and—again, if so be—Joseph's little early Christian Church at Glastonbury, which, so far as it could be authentic, would relate the origin of British Christianity to Jerusalem rather than Rome.

against the flood, the vessel of Noah, with the best (lime): that is the wondrous kind, ever it is the harder, as the rough water, the swart sea streams, the harder beat."¹

Cædmon, and his possible contemporaries to whom the Junius XI MS. may point, were the forerunners of more specific Scriptural translation in the shape of the Venerable Bede's rendering into the vernacular of the Gospel of John, completed on his deathbed in A.D. 735. Reared and educated at the recently established Benedictine monasteries at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow—at the latter of which he passed almost his whole adult life—Bede was the greatest scholar of Anglo-Saxon times, his most notable work being his Latin Ecclesiastical History of the English People from the coming of Julius Cæsar to his own day. This book is rendered the more important inasmuch as soon after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain, pagan invaders from the Continent commenced to sweep away Christian culture in Britain, or to drive it into the far west, thus imposing on the country what has become known as the dark centuries, of which little authentic record survives.

When Britain ultimately emerged into the light again, the figure of Alfred, justly called the Great, dominates the scene, not only for stemming the Danish invasion and burning his one-time hostess's cakes, or rather bread, but as the restorer of learning and culture. Among multifarious such activities, he translated, or was responsible for the translation of, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the Ten Commandments (which he caused to be placed at the head of England's almost Levitical laws), the Lord's Prayer, and probably part of the Psalter. A translation of the Psalter is believed to have been made by a near contemporary of Bede, second only to the latter in scholarship. This was Aldhelm (c. 640–709), first Bishop of Sherborne, who had, as a younger man, sat at the feet of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury. No trace of this translation is however known for certain to have survived. The earliest surviving translation of the Psalms is in the shape of a gloss, or word-for-word interlinear translation added, possibly during Alfred's reign, to a late seventh- or early eighth-century Latin Psalter known as the Psalter of St. Augustine.² It has been claimed that "throughout the Middle Ages the Psalter was a favourite book in England, and was translated earlier and oftener than any other part of the Bible". It was not very long after this, again, that there came into being the earliest known translation of the Gospels, also in the form of a gloss added by one Aldred to the beautifully ornamented, illuminated, and bejewelled Lindisfarne Gospels, a copy of the Latin Gospels executed late in the seventh or early in the eighth century at Lindisfarne Abbey on Holy Island off the coast of Northumbria in North Britain.³

¹ Thorpe's 1832 edition with modern rendering.

² British Museum Cotton MS., Vespasian A.i.

³ British Museum Cotton MS., Nero D IV.

ALFRED THE GREAT is related to our story for the further reason that it was just about a century after his death in A.D. 901 that America is supposed to have first come into the picture. Whatever credence is to be given to legendary tales of the colonisation of the western seaboard at the hands of the Chinese in very early times, it is the firm belief of many that in the year A.D. 1000 the Norseman Lief Ericson, voyaging from Iceland via Greenland, landed on the north-east coast of America and planted colonies there. It appears moreover that on a visit to Scandinavia the previous year he had accepted Christianity. There is indeed said to have accompanied him on one of his voyages to America a priest and a band of missionaries or teachers so we may be reasonably certain that there would have reached American shores at that time copies of at any rate some portions of the Scriptures, in the form of the Latin Vulgate version. Other Norse expeditions are believed to have followed, and it is therefore not beyond the bounds of possibility that a copy of a Norse translation of the Bible said to have been made in A.D. 1220 could have likewise found its way there in due course.

Although it has been claimed that traces of Norwegian blood, language, and customs survived among certain Indian tribes, nothing now remains to show for the colonies which Ericson may have founded. But there appears to have been one important outcome of his exploits. Ancient records of Ericson's and similar voyages which were to be found in Iceland at the time of Christopher Columbus are said to have been studied by the great seaman and to have helped to inspire and chart his own voyages of exploration.

As has been noted in the Introduction, although Columbus has been acclaimed as the traditional discoverer of the New World, he did not in fact discover North America and only sighted the shores of South America (in August 1498) over a year after John Cabot, a Bristol, England, pilot of Genoese origin, and his sons, including Sebastian, later to become Grand Pilot of England, appear to have discovered Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia (June 1497), and at very much the same time that Cabot at any rate sighted Newfoundland and claimed the whole country for Henry VII.¹

Other expeditions followed, and it was not long before European fishermen began making regular voyages to the eastern seaboard of North America, establishing themselves ashore during the summer months for the purpose of drying their nets and salting their catches, and we may be reasonably certain that some form of trading developed between them and the natives. This serves to explain why the Pilgrim Fathers, when they landed at Plymouth, found traces of European contacts among

¹ Another claimant in the field was the Florentine (later Spaniard) Amerigo Vespucci after whom America is named. His records, which are however discounted, make it appear that he reached South America eight days ahead of the Cabots' discovery of North America.

the Indians, at any rate one of whom possessed a sufficient smattering of English to act as an interpreter. He had in fact been among a band of natives shanghaied by the captain of an English vessel apparently trading with the Indians before the advent of the Mayflower Pilgrims, and had been carried away captive to England, whence after a sojourn of some years there, he had been restored to his native land.

5 WYCLIFFE

BUT we have overrun our story and must now go back two or three hundred years to the point where, in 1382, John Wycliffe, an Oxford, England, university lecturer and scholar, produced the first translation into English of the whole Bible. This great work was carried out with the help of his followers who were later to become known as Lollards. Whether Wycliffe himself translated any portion of the Bible that bears his name is the subject of considerable controversy. Forshall and Madden, who have published what is generally accepted as the definitive text of the Wycliffe Bible versions, credit him with the New Testament, and I for one like to think that is so. Being however a conscientious word-for-word rendering, taken from carefully selected Vulgate texts, the result proved too stilted and circumscribed in its language for popular acceptance, so not long afterwards Wycliffe's curate and closest follower, John Purvey, undertook a more idiomatic revision, the completion of which Wycliffe did not himself live to see.

In addition to being a great scholar, Wycliffe was a deep thinker and wrote a number of theological and what would now be termed metaphysical works. In "Wycliffe and his English Precursors", Lechler states that Wycliffe regarded evil as a negation, while affirming that "everything which was created was originally and, before its creation in time, an actual reality—ideally pre-formed in the pre-existent Logos", and again, that he "recognises a double source from which Christian knowledge is to be derived—reason and revelation".

So far so good, but some of his more extreme opinions so conflicted with medieval orthodoxy that he was ultimately branded a heretic, while after his death his Bible was proscribed and his followers bitterly persecuted. The movement had however taken so strong a hold on the nation that it was said that in any gathering two out of four present would be followers of Wycliffe, while after his death, his one-time patron, John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, in contesting a Bill for the suppression of the Wycliffe Bible, said, "Seeing that other nations have the Law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language, I will maintain our having the law in our own tongue against those, whoever they are, who first brought in this Bill." It is possible that he was referring to a thirteenth-century French Bible uncertainly attributed to Waldensian influence and/or a probable Dutch translation of about the year A.D. 1300. But although Wycliffe's Bible continued to enjoy a wide if secret circulation in Scotland as well as England and constituted the first translation of the whole Bible into English, it has had little if any direct influence on the King

Janies Bible which was essentially a child of the Reformation. Wycliffe and his Bible however had an important indirect influence on the course of events. The historian Trevelyan writes : "Every important aspect of the English Reformation is of native origin. All can be traced back as far as Wycliffe, and some much further"; and the Encyclopaedia Britannica has this to say of the movement he founded : "Lollardy which continued down to the Reformation did much to shape the movement in England. The subordination of clerical to laic jurisdiction, the reduction of ecclesiastical possessions, the insisting on a translation of the Bible which could be read by the common man, were all inheritances bequeathed by the Lollards."

It is only right however to draw attention to the fact that there is an opposite school of thought, represented by K. B. McFarlane's "John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity" which, though it provides a most interesting account of the issues of the day, discredits alike Wycliffe, his movement, and his followers. There is little doubt that many of those whose convictions have taken them beyond the security of an established system are betrayed into excesses which shock their complacent opponents, as was proven in the case of some of the sixteenth-century Reformers. Be that as it may, even McFarlane concedes that Wycliffe "was generally recognised to be the most outstanding scholar of his day"; nor can anything rob him of the distinction of having brought into being the first vernacular translation of the whole Bible.

6 THE RENAISSANCE

AT the period which we are considering, the Latin Scriptures were a closed book to the common people, who did not understand Latin any more than did a great many of the lower orders of the clergy themselves, in addition to which, as Wycliffe had clearly recognised, the medieval Church was riddled with corruption and superstition. Matters were ultimately brought to a head by two outstanding events. One was the sack, at the hands of the Turks, of Constantinople, the Rome of the Eastern Church, in 1453, which resulted in the scattering abroad over Europe of copies both of the Classics and of Greek Codexes of the New Testament hitherto unavailable to Western civilisation. This was accompanied by a like dispersal of Greek scholars and scholarship which enabled men to take advantage of this rich harvest. Thus was the wrath of man made to praise God, for out of all this confusion there sprang the Renaissance and Reformation, the rebirth of knowledge and culture which, like some species of woodland flower, burgeoned everywhere into bloom at the same moment, and was at first represented in the religious field by the so-called New Learning. The other virtually contemporaneous development was the introduction of printing by means of movable type, the first-fruits of which was a magnificent copy of the Latin Bible, the so-called Gutenberg Bible.

It was not until about a quarter of a century later, in 1476, that printing was first introduced into England by William Caxton, who may have become interested in this new craft as a means of furthering his bent for translating foreign books into English when, or shortly after, serving as Governor of the English Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries. Caxton's *magnum opus*, which he published in 1484, was an English rendering of a French version of a book originally indited in Latin under the title of "Legenda Aurea" ("The Golden Legend"), by Jacobus de Voragine, sometime Archbishop of Genoa. This work consisted of the Lives of innumerable Saints, together with a good deal of purely legendary matter, but also embodying a certain amount of Scriptural paraphrase.

As the original work had received the Papal blessing, Caxton incurred no risk in bringing out an English translation, under cover of which however he appears to have introduced a considerable body of almost literal, word-for-word, Biblical material.

The following is taken from the Introduction to the Holbein Society's 400th anniversary book on "The Golden Legend":

"We have seen that (Caxton) dare not print the Bible, with an avowed intent; but under the guise of legendary stories, he smuggled into his book a great part of the text of the Sacred Writings. To such an extent has this been carried, that in the Caxton Celebration Catalogue . . . the Golden Legend was included in the list of Bibles; 'because,' says Mr. Henry Stevens, who had charge of that department, 'it contains a translation into English of nearly the whole of the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Gospels. . . . It was no doubt read in churches, and though the text is mixed with much priestly gloss and dross, it nevertheless contains, in almost literal translation, a great portion of the Bible; and it became thus one of the principal instruments in preparing the way for the Reformation.'"

Caxton is believed to have relied mainly on the original Latin text, on Belet and Vignay's French translation, and on an earlier English version, while he could also have borrowed some of his additional material from a contemporary French Bible based on a thirteenth-century translation and to which no official objection appears to have been taken. Caxton's supplementary sources remain however very much a matter of speculation. Although, like Wycliffe, he uses the word "breeches" in the passage in Genesis (ch. 3, v. 7) which was later to give the Genevan Bible the cognomen of "Breeches Bible", there is little to prove that he resorted to the Wycliffe translation, in addition to which he is unlikely so far to have endangered his position as to draw on a Bible version which was still being intermittently proscribed and its devotees occasionally done to death. There is one phrase which suggests Cædmon where the latter characterises the serpent as "an agent of Lucifer", while Caxton also

describes the tempter as “ful of the devyll lucifer”, but there too there is no iota of proof. The following quotation is from William Morris’s Kelmscott edition of Caxton’s “Golden Legend”:

“The nyght following hym thought a man wrastlyd with hym all that nyght tyl the mornynge, and whan he sawe he myght not ouercome hym, he hurted the synewe of his thye that he haltd thereof, and said to hym, Late me goo and leue me, for it is in mornynge. Thenne Jacob answered, I shal not leue the but yf thou blesse me, he said to hym, What is thy name? he answered Jacob. Thenne he said, Nay, said he, thy name shal no more be called Jacob but Israhel, for yf thou hast been stronge ayenst god how moche more shal thou preuaylle ayenst men.

“Thenne Jacob said to hym, What is thy name? telle me, he answerd, Why demandest thou my name which is meruaylous? And he blesyd him in the same place. Jacob called the name of that same place phanel, saying, I haue seen our lord face to face and my soule is made sauf. And anon as he was passed phanel, the sonne aroose.”

8 THE REFORMATION

THE development of printing enabled this awakening interest in both the Classics and the Scriptures to be more widely satisfied than could have been effected by means of manuscripts—the writers of which nevertheless executed some of their most beautiful work in an effort to outmatch the new craft. All this resulted in long smouldering religious discontent being fanned into open flame. For as the Swiss Zwingli was to put it: “If the people see clearly what is true, they will immediately discern the false.”

Among the fruits of scholarship were Sebastian Munster’s Hebrew and Latin Old Testament (1534), Pagninus’s Latin Bible of 1527/8, translated from the original Hebrew and Greek, which ranks as the first modern Latin Bible; Cardinal Ximenes’ Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1522); and the Greek and Latin New Testament text of the great Dutch humanist Erasmus, who wrote in his preface: “I would have the weakest woman read the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul . . . I would have these words translated into all languages, so that not only Scots and Irish, but Turks and Saracens too might read them. I long for the ploughboy to sing them to himself as he follows his plough; the weaver to hum them to the tune of his shuttle; the traveller to beguile with them the dullness of his journey.”

Erasmus himself was ever on the move, making several visits to England, of which he once declared, “I had chosen this country as my adopted fatherland, the resting-place of my declining years.” It was in his tower rooms at Queens’ College, Cambridge—at which seat of learning he was accorded the Lady Margaret Chair of Divinity as a pretext for lecturing in Greek (there was then no Chair of Greek)—

that he did much of the work on his New Testament. His desire that the Word be "translated into all languages" was amply fulfilled inasmuch as it became the basis of virtually every European vernacular translation of the New Testament, including Luther's German and Tyndale's English version.

9 TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT

WILLIAM TYNDALE had studied Greek at both Oxford and Cambridge and had been early touched with the spirit of the New Learning which had doubtless helped to form his resolve to furnish his fellow countrymen with a version of the New Testament, if not the whole Bible, in their own tongue. It is recorded that he once declared to an early disputant, almost in the words of Erasmus: "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." But this project met with such opposition from the Church authorities in an England still religiously affiliated to Rome that he was finally compelled to seek refuge abroad where the Reformation had taken firmer hold. There he completed his English translation of the New Testament which, after an abortive attempt to do so at Cologne, he was successful in getting printed at Worms, by Peter Schoeffer, second son of the Peter Schoeffer who had been a co-printer of the Gutenberg Bible.

Although Tyndale's New Testament derived mainly from Erasmus' Greek text, there also entered into it Luther's extensively annotated German translation, so that the English Church authorities, partly in the belief that it was designed to introduce Lutheran doctrines into England, confiscated or bought up and burnt all the copies they could lay hands on, including some foisted on to them to provide Tyndale with funds for further work!

Thereafter, besides publishing some controversial religious books, Tyndale proceeded to translate, mostly from the original Hebrew, the first five Books of the Bible. John Foxe, in his "Book of Martyrs", relates how Tyndale was shipwrecked on his way to Hamburg and lost his manuscript, which he had to set to work to rewrite. Doubts have been cast on this story but were it in fact true it might account for the translation, out of turn, of "The Prophete Jonas," apparently published in 1531. Until its chance discovery in the middle of the nineteenth century, the existence of this little work had been only evidenced by a Prologue which first appeared in a 1549 edition of the "Matthew" Bible. Tyndale published his Pentateuch in 1530. It is supposed to have been printed by Hans Lust of Marburg, an interesting feature of this publication being that three out of the five Books were printed in Roman type.

Although there was a soft side to Tyndale's nature, manifested in his bi-weekly visits to the poor and needy of Antwerp on what he called his "pastime days", he was the most aggressively polemical of the early Reformers. One of his renderings which was later to breed controversy was that of "congregation" instead of "church" for the Greek word "ecclesia". It was at or near Antwerp that he was ultimately

betrayed into the hands of the Emperor Charles' Inquisitors, a crime for which the English Church does not appear to have been responsible, and after a year's miserable incarceration in the Castle of Vilvorde in the Low Countries, he was burnt, or rather strangled, at the stake. But though he was not to know it, his dying prayer, "Lord, ope the King of England's eyes", had been already answered, inasmuch as Henry VIII had by then finally broken with Rome and an English Bible embodying his own New Testament and Pentateuch was in circulation.

10 THE COVERDALE BIBLE

A YORKSHIREMAN, Myles Coverdale, perhaps encouraged and subsidised by his friend and patron, Thomas Cromwell, who had succeeded Wolsey in the King's favour, had for some time been secretly engaged on this project and like Tyndale had repaired abroad for the purpose. Partly because he was not himself a Greek or Hebrew scholar, and partly perhaps to expedite publication, Coverdale had made use of Tyndale's completed work. The remainder of this Bible was the work of Coverdale himself who, though not as scholarly as Tyndale, and compelled therefore to rely on German, Latin, and Swiss-German sources, was nevertheless a conscientious craftsman and a master of felicitous phrasing. To him we owe many such familiar passages as "I will lift up mine eyes to the hills" and "Whither shall I go from Thy presence . . . ?" Perhaps no subsequent version, not even excepting the King James Bible, has surpassed the Coverdale Bible in beauty of language. If Coverdale and the other Reformation translators sometimes failed to convey the exact shade of meaning of the original, we must allow for the fact that they were trying to interpret in contemporary terms a religious development of a totally different age and country, a task which has taxed the efforts even of those who have since acquired a knowledge of the background of the Bible denied to the sixteenth-century Reformers.

This factor was responsible for numerous quaint renderings such as "For there is no more triacle (treacle) at Galaad" for "Is there no balm in Gilead" (Jer. 8:22), while in place of "thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night" of the 91st Psalm, Coverdale had "Thou shalt not nedc to be afrayed for eny bugges by night", the word "bugge" having however the significance of bugbear. Then there is that delightful rendering of the first verse of Psalm 14: "The foolish bodyes saye in their hertes, Tush, there is no God."

The Coverdale/Tyndale Bible, which appeared in 1535, had been printed somewhere abroad. It was at first believed, on grounds since discovered to be false, that the printer was Froschower of Zürich, who later published the 1550 edition of Coverdale. But on evidence afforded by the woodcut initials, Mr. Sheppard, late Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, has made out a strong case for Cervicornus and Sotor at Cologne.

On account of a duty recently imposed—at the urgent representation of English

printers—on the import of bound books, the Bible was sent over to England in the form of printed sheets, to be bound and published by Nicholson of Southwark. The title-page, the dignified design of which was the work of Holbein, was reprinted with the omission of the words “out of Douche (Deutch/German) and Latyn”, probably on the grounds of association with Luther, against whose doctrines Henry VIII had not so long since published a book which had earned him the title of “Defender of the Faith”. And although he had by now thrown off the yoke of Rome, and become Supreme Head of the Church of England—“so far as the law of Christ allows” (a qualification insisted on by Convocation)—he remained throughout his life a Catholic at heart. Nevertheless he had shown keen interest in an English translation of the Bible and accorded the Coverdale version, which ranks as the first printed English Bible, freedom of circulation.

Coverdale himself was later to serve ably as Bishop of Exeter in Edward VI's reign, subsequently escaping martyrdom under Mary only through the intervention of King Christian of Denmark, to one of whose Court Chaplains he was related by marriage. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he acted as the only surviving Protestant bishop at Matthew Parker's initiation to the Primacy.

II THE “MATTHEW” BIBLE

THE next version to appear was the so-called “Matthew” Bible of 1537, believed to have been printed by Cromm of Antwerp. It embodied an elaborately drawn title-page design taken from a Low German edition of Luther's Bible¹ and attributed to Altdorffer, one of Albrecht Dürer's favourite pupils. The “Matthew” Bible also repeats the handsome full-page picture at the beginning of Genesis and a few poorer and smaller copies of the Blake-like illustrations that elsewhere characterise the Lubeck Bible. All this suggests the possibility of the “Matthew” Bible having been printed in Lubeck instead of Antwerp. Far removed from Holland as Lubeck in North Germany is, that very factor may have influenced the friend and follower of Tyndale responsible for this version and loathe to share the latter's fate. On the other hand there are small but definite differences in the type used in the two Bibles, so, like so much else in connection with early English printed Bible history, it remains a matter of “anyone's guess”.

On the “Matthew” Bible title-page is superscribed the legend, “Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous Lycence”, a privilege obtained for it by Crammer which marks it as the first officially licenced version of the English Bible, although this licence was also extended to the second edition of the Coverdale Bible, published in the same year.

John Rogers, who had gone out to Antwerp as priest to the English merchant community and is believed to have been converted to Protestantism by Tyndale himself, is generally held to have been responsible for the so-called “Matthew”

¹ Printed by Dietz of Lubeck and dated 1533, a year ahead of the German edition.

Bible, which embodied all Tyndale's work, including his further translations up to the end of II Chronicles probably executed while he was in prison, but excluding the Book of Jonah. The rest of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha was made up from the Coverdale Bible. In the Latin Vulgate, the Apocryphal Books, which were regarded as being useful for edification rather than doctrine, had been scattered among the other Books of the Old Testament. In Reformation Bibles however they were gathered together and located between the Old and the New Testament. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Luther, in his German translation of the New Testament, the first printed vernacular version to appear (1522), somewhat arbitrarily placed the Epistles of Peter and John between Philemon and Hebrews, and it is interesting to note that although Tyndale based his English version for the most part on Erasmus's Greek text, he followed Luther in this respect, and this order is retained in both the Coverdale and "Matthew" Bibles. The latter also embodied certain of Tyndale's Prologues and Luther-inspired Notes, with a number of other Notes borrowed from Olivetan's French Bible of 1535.¹

12 THE GREAT BIBLE

AMONG the Notes attaching to the 1549 edition of the "Matthew" Bible appeared the following amusing one: "He dwelleth with his wife according to knowledge that taketh her as a necessary helper, but not as a bondservant or slave. And if she be not obedient unto him, endeavoureth to beat the fear of God into her head, that thereby she shall be compelled to learn her duty and do it"!

Although Henry VIII could have been relied upon to "beat the fear of God" into his wives' heads had he not found it simpler just to chop them off, he took a more serious view of a Bible characterised by controversial Notes, and after determining upon an official Bible version, laid it down that it should contain no Notes whatever. This work was entrusted to Coverdale as Editor-in-Chief together with the publishers, two merchant grocers, Grafton and Whitchurch.

A licence was obtained from the French King, Francis I, for this Bible to be printed in Paris by the French printer Regnault. In the course of the work however the agents of the Inquisition, who were always making a nuisance of themselves, descended on the presses and confiscated the printed sheets. Some of these however had already been sent over to England and, printers and presses following, the work was successfully completed in London where the Great Bible, as it came to be called, was finally published in 1539. Partly, it has been suggested, to ensure the publishers, who had risked much in the venture, getting some return, it was decreed that copies of the Bible "of the larger sort" should be set up in the churches. The fact that such copies had often to be chained to the pulpit to prevent theft gave rise to the term

¹ Two offshoots of the "Matthew" Bible were a recension of this version published by Richard Taverner, a Greek scholar of repute; and the first English Bible Concordance, compiled by one John Marbeck, an organist at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

“Chain Bibles”. Succeeding editions of the Great Bible carried an able and scholarly Preface by Cranmer and are sometimes known as “Cranmer Bibles”.¹ The title-page of the Great Bible depicts Henry handing copies to Cranmer and Cromwell who are seen in their turn distributing it among the common people in all walks of life. This design has also been attributed to Holbein, though, unlike that of the Coverdale Bible, it has not been authenticated in the definitive list of the great artist’s work at the Kunstmuseum in his home city of Basle. Moreover the conception is fussy and overcrowded, and altogether uncharacteristic of Holbein’s clean and careful craftsmanship as displayed in the Coverdale title-page; while, for another thing, Holbein is known to have been out of England on various missions for a considerable part of 1538 and 1539 when the Great Bible was in the making.

13 THE GENEVAN BIBLE

ALTHOUGH there is no record of the Coverdale, the “Matthew”, or the Great Bible finding their way to America, copies of the succeeding version, the Genevan Bible, did so in great numbers. This version owed itself to the fact that when Catholic Mary ascended the English Throne many English Protestants fled abroad. One small band took refuge in Geneva where, under the leadership of an Oxford scholar, William Whittingham, who later became a somewhat difficult Bishop of Durham, they embarked upon a new translation of the Bible which became known as the Genevan Bible, the New Testament portion of which was the work of Whittingham himself. Because, in this version, part of the seventh verse of the third chapter of Genesis is rendered: “They sowed fig tree leaves together and made themselves breeches”, it is sometimes known as the “Breeches” Bible, albeit as previously observed this word had appeared in the same connection in both the Wycliffe and “Golden Legend” rendering of the passage in question. The title-page design depicts the Children of Israel escaping from the hosts of Pharaoh and is supposed to symbolise the deliverance of England from the Roman Catholic yoke by the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne in 1558. It was printed in Geneva and appeared in 1560, a second edition being brought out two years later. Thereafter successive editions continued to pour from the presses in England (from 1575 onwards) and abroad. The 1576 and subsequent editions embodied a New Testament revision executed by Lawrence Tomson, a one-time Oxford scholar in the service of Francis Walsingham.

The Genevan Bible introduced a number of important innovations such as the

¹ “For two sondrye sortes of people, it semeth moche necessary that somethynge be sayde in the entrye of thys booke, by the waye of a preface or prologue: wherby herafter it maye be both better accepted of them which hitherto coulde not well beare it: and also the better used of them, which hertofore have mysused it. For truly, some there are that he to slowe, and nede the spurre: some other seme to quycke and nede more of the brydell. Some loose the game by shorte shotynge, some by ouer shotynge. Some walke to moche on the lefte hande, somme to moche on the ryght.”

employment of the more legible Roman type instead of Old English or Gothic lettering; publication almost exclusively in a small handy format; and the division into verses on the present system. While the Old Testament verse divisions were those already obtaining in the Hebrew text, those of the New Testament derived from Stephanus's Greek New Testament of 1551, repeated in his French Bible of 1553 and his Latin Bible of 1555. Stephanus the elder had been a prominent Paris printer whose Protestant sympathies had brought him into conflict with the Sorbonne and ultimately compelled him to remove to Geneva.

14 THE BISHOPS' BIBLE

ON account of the foregoing innovations, the Genevan Bible won a wide and an immediate popularity. This factor together with its Calvinistic flavour—for its progenitors had sat at the feet of the great French Reformer—proved an embarrassment to Elizabeth, to whom the views of some of the more extreme sects were hardly less offensive than were Popish doctrines themselves.

All this therefore moved the authorities to produce a fresh official version of the Bible which was entrusted to the bishops, a method originally employed by Archbishop Cranmer for a projected pre-Coverdale Bible version—frustrated by the obduracy of one of the bishops. When the so-called Bishops' Bible appeared in 1568 it proved to be a sumptuous but somewhat pedestrian affair. Nevertheless it has claims on our esteem inasmuch as it can be said to have embodied the religious hopes, in varying degrees, of three staunch Protestants who had outlasted the Marian regime in England without abrogating their faith. These were Queen Elizabeth herself whose native wit had proved a match for her half-sister's suspicious jealousy; Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh and the Queen's great Minister-of-State, whose portrait appears on the opening page of the Psalms; and Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury and one-time chaplain to Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn.

15 AMERICA

ONE can hazard a guess that when Drake on his voyage round the world set foot in California in 1579 he would have brought ashore with him a copy of the Bishops' Bible; and that, four years later, it was this version which Sir Humphrey Gilbert was seen to be reading when, returning from his ill-fated voyage to Newfoundland, he went down in the little "Squirrel" after refusing succour from the latter's larger consort, the "Golden Hind", with the now familiar words, "We are as near Heaven by sea as by land." Was it the Bishop's Bible, again, or the handier little Genevan Bible which accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh's early abortive attempts to colonise Virginia in the 1580's? In any case although the barely successful venture of 1607 and the settlements of 1609 and 1611 were officially Episcopalian, Puritan influence is said to have predominated, and apparently the Genevan version was almost entirely

if not exclusively used by the Colonists and their pastors, at any rate until after Virginia became a Crown Colony in 1624; and certainly the little band of Separatists which, under William Brewster and William Bradford, went first to Holland and ten years later, in 1620, crossed the Atlantic with other emigrants in the "Mayflower", relied solely on the Genevan Bible.

16 THE KING JAMES BIBLE

By that time however yet another version had appeared. When King James VI of Scotland became James I of England, he found an unsatisfactory situation obtaining in relation to the Bible. The large Folio Bishops' Bible was used exclusively for public worship and the small Genevan version was in general use for private study. It was a confusing condition of affairs and when the Puritan leader, Dr. Raynolds, Dean of Lincoln, and Master of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, suggested at the Hampton Court Conference that a new Bible version be set in train, King James readily agreed. This new version was to be a revision of the Bishops' Bible made in the light of other versions, and was to be executed by six Boards of scholars and divines rather upon the lines of the Bishops' Bible, except that in the present case the work of each group was subjected to revision by the rest and was then put before a committee of twelve, to be finally checked over by two other revisers. One of these was Miles Smith, one of the ablest scholars of his day, who contributed the interesting Foreword, entitled "The Translators to the Reader"¹ (now omitted), in which he makes clear how wide the revisers had cast their net in endeavouring to produce a version of the Scriptures in English acceptable to virtually every shade of Protestant thought. "Neither did wee thinke much to consult the translators and commentators", it stated—"Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no nor Spanish, French, Italian or Dutch." It is thus interesting to consider to what extent the King James Bible had its roots in foreign soil, in gallant little Holland which had sheltered Tyndale and, not without a shrewd eye to business, printed various editions of his works; and had originally produced Erasmus whose Greek New Testament enters into our present Bible by way of Tyndale's English version, to which, it has been said, four out of five words in the King James version owe themselves. And in Switzerland where, in the choir of the Grossmünster in Zürich, Zwingli and his helpers had laboured to perfect their Zürich Swiss-German translation of the Scriptures on which Coverdale had drawn; and Geneva where there came to birth the

¹ "But now what pietie without trueth? what trueth (what sauing trueth) without the word of God? what word of God (whereof we may be sure) without the Scripture? The Scriptures we are commanded to search. John. 5.39. Esa 8.20. They are commended that searched & studied them. Act 17.11 and 8.28, 29. They are reproved that were unskilful in them, or slow to beleue them. Mat. 22.29. Luke 24.25. They can make us wise unto salvation. 2 Tim. 3.15. If we be ignorant, they will instruct us; if out of the way, they will bring us home; if out of order, they will reform us; if in heaviness, comfort us; if dull, quicken us; if cold, inflame us. . . ."

Genevan Bible for which it has again been claimed that "Examination of the King James Bible of 1611 shows that its translators in correcting the Bishops' Bible were influenced more by the Genevan than any other version."¹

Truly the King James Bible can be said to stand as witness to the universal nature of Truth in men's hearts, and the brotherhood of man in Christ.

The King James, or Authorised, Version—authorised, that is to say, only at the Hampton Court Conference—was published in 1611 in the form of two folio editions known respectively as the Great "He" Bible and the Great "She" Bible, both characterised by a number of mistakes. It was one of these mistakes, in a passage in the Book of Ruth where it read, in reference to Ruth herself, "and he went into the city", which gave rise to the aforementioned cognomens, a passage which appeared correctly in the "She" Bible. The title-page of the "He" Bible, regarded as the *Editio Princeps*, consisted of a gracious engraving by Cornelius Boel, a Dutch artist working in England. The New Testament title-page design, used for both title-pages in the "She" Bible and previously employed in a 1602 edition of the Bishops' Bible (albeit suggested by the title-page design of a 1599 Genevan Bible), depicted on the one hand the Twelve Apostles and on the other the insignia of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

Although, as mentioned above, it is generally agreed that the so-called "He" Bible, carrying the Boel engraved title-page, was the *Editio Princeps* of the King James Bible, considerable uncertainty has since developed over whether the "He" and "She" Bibles represented parallel editions or issues, as averred by Darlow and Moule in *The British and Foreign Bible Society's Bible Catalogue* (Vol. I, p. 136); or whether, as affirmed by Pollard ("Records of the English Bible", p. 68 *et seq.*), the "She" Bible with the woodcut design title-page only came into being when stocks of the other had run out and the plate of the Boel title-page had become too worn for further use. Pollard suggests that the issue was complicated by the appearance of occasional hybrid copies made up at the whim of whoever picked out the sheets, or collectors thinking to fashion a perfect copy out of two or more incomplete ones. Fry, Scrivener, and others also have their say on the subject.

Although there had been a number of—particularly German—pre-Reformation vernacular Bibles, it may be claimed that for the man in the street the sixteenth-century versions represent the most important product of the Reformation. And to the King James Bible which appeared at a time when the English tongue was at its richest (Shakespeare's Sonnets had appeared two years previously, "The Tempest" and "A Winter's Tale" the same year) there could well be applied the words of Archbishop Cranmer when petitioning Henry VIII that the Royal Licence be accorded the "Matthew" Bible, "until such tyme that we, the Bishops, shall set forth a better translation—which I thinke will not be till a day after Domesday".

¹ Darlow and Moule: *The British and Foreign Bible Society's Bible Catalogue*.

THE first copy of the King James Bible to reach American shores is said to have been brought over by John Winthrop in 1630 when he went out to his newly established Massachusetts Bay Colony.¹ Eight years later there came out a printer named Stephen Day, together with three pressmen, who in 1640 printed in Cambridge, Mass., a metrical version of the Psalter known as the Bay Psalm Book. Available evidence² points to this having been the work of several hands, notably John Cotton, Richard Mather (grandfather of Cotton Mather), John Eliot, Pastor of Roxbury, and John Wilson. In some places scholarship appears to have prevailed over poetic genius, but no fault can be found, for instance, with the following, which seems redolent of freshness and simplicity (from Psalm 139):

- 5 Behinde thou gird'st mee, & before
& layst on mee thine hand.
- 6 Such knowledge is too strange, too high,
for mee to understand.
- 7 Where shall I from thy presence go?
or where from thy face flye?
- 8 If heav'n I climbe, thou there, loe thou,
if downe in hell I lye.

On the face of it, it is hard to understand why the Bay Colony settlers should have embarked on such a project. For nearly a century there had been in existence—improved and added to in successive editions—Sternhold and Hopkins’ “The Whole Booke of Psalms collected into Enghish Meetre”, some of the contents of which, as for example “All people that on earth do dwell”, as well as a number of tunes which it popularised, now have an honoured place in our hymnology³. This version has also been styled “The Psalter of the Pilgrim Fathers”, and Prof. Haraszti in his scholarly work on the Bay Psalm Book claims that it was this factor which influenced the Bay Colony divines to produce their own version of the Psalms. For the Massachusetts Bay Colonists, albeit Puritans, still regarded themselves as part of the Established Church, whereas the Plymouth Colonists were predominantly Separatists. Be that as it may, the Bay Psalter never approached the standing of Sternhold and Hopkins, though we can well imagine the devotion with which the work was executed and the pride which would have attended the launching of this, the first book to be printed on Anglo-American soil.

¹ Marion Simms in “The Bible in America”.

² “The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book”, by Prof. Haraszti.

³ “Sternhold and Hopkins's version has had a larger circulation than any other work in the language, except the authorised version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer” (Dictionary of National Biography).

18 ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE

WE have mentioned John Eliot among those engaged on this enterprise. He also devoted himself to the welfare of the Indians and learnt their speech, which eventuated in his bringing out in 1663 an Indian translation of the Bible in the dialect of the Massachusetts Indians, subsequently wiped out. This was the first complete Bible to be printed in America. It was printed in Cambridge, by Stephen Day's successor Samuel Green. In point of fact the names of Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson appear on the title-page, the latter being a printer of, it seems, somewhat doubtful character, specially brought out from England to help with the work. Besides the above activities, Eliot is to be remembered for the love and esteem that he evoked from all with whom he came into contact, including his fellow ministers. The Dictionary of National Biography writes of him: "No name in the early history of New England is more revered than his."

19 BRADFORD

BOSTON was to share early American printing honours with Philadelphia. William Penn, son of Admiral Sir William Penn, had in 1681 founded the Colony of Pennsylvania as a Quaker settlement but on the basis of religious toleration for all. With him on his first visit there in the following year came out a young printer, William Bradford, who had been apprenticed to one of Penn's closest friends whose daughter he had married. Bradford was to become the foremost printer in the American Colonies and part-founder, with William Rittenhouse, of the first American paper mill (at Wissaheckon Creek, Penn.), and it was not long before he was planning an edition of, apparently, the King James Bible, which being Crown copyright could not legitimately be printed in the American Colonies. In the event however the project failed for lack of subscribers. After an active printing career in Philadelphia, and later in New York and New Jersey, in both of which he held the position of King's Printer, he died in 1752. One of his obituary notices read: "He was a man of great sobriety and industry, a real friend to the poor and needy and kind and affable to all. His temperance was exceedingly conspicuous and he was a stranger to sickness all his life."¹

20 COTTON MATHER

BRADFORD's unsuccessful Bible printing project was to be followed by other abortive enterprises of the kind, one of the most notable of which was that of Cotton Mather, who came of a line of distinguished New England clergymen. His grandfather, previously mentioned in connection with the Bay Psalm Book, had been one of the

¹ New York Gazette, which Bradford founded and edited.

early settlers, and his father, Increase Mather, had been President of Harvard, of which Cotton himself was a graduate, later helping his father in the ministry of 2nd Pastorate Church in Boston. Cotton spent fifteen years preparing his copiously annotated Bible, completed in 1710, but never published, and the manuscript of which now lies in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

21 KNEELAND AND GREEN

OVER forty years were to elapse before there occurred any comparable projects and about these there now exists a considerable element of uncertainty. They relate to a New Testament with which were associated the names of Roger and Fowle, and the controversial Kneeland and Green Bible, both of which are said to have been printed for one Daniel Henchman, Bookseller and Publisher, and great-uncle to John Hancock, and to have borne the imprint of a London printer, Mark Baskett—supposedly because it was still illegal to print the King James Bible in America. Although there are people, including Governor Hancock himself, who purport to have seen a copy of the Kneeland and Green Bible, no copies are known to be in existence today. This is the more strange inasmuch as there still survive, in not inconsiderable numbers, copies of Bibles of far greater antiquity, and it must be remembered that to render such a venture commercially worthwhile it would have been necessary to print a fairly large edition. Much weight too has been put on the fact that the name of Mark Baskett, who came of a distinguished line of English Bible printers,¹ did not appear on any Bible until nine years after the date associated with these publications.

22 SAUER'S GERMAN BIBLE

BE all that as it may, the scene now shifts once again to Philadelphia where, in 1743, a German settler, Christopher Sauer, succeeded in bringing out a German Bible designed to commend itself to the various conflicting sects existing in the German community there, and which ranks as the first Bible in any European tongue to be printed in America. This was probably not the first German Bible to find its way there, for German Huguenots are believed to have accompanied one of Admiral Coligny's unsuccessful attempts to establish colonies in Florida in 1562 and 1564 for his French co-religionists. These German colonists, like the later German immigrants of Sauer's day, would have brought with them copies of Luther's Bible (1534), just as the French Huguenots would have had with them copies of Olivetan's French

¹ It was John Baskett who, in 1717, was responsible for the so-called "Vinegar" Bible, which derived its sobriquet from a misprint of "Vinegar" for "Vineyard" in the running title relating to the Parable of the Vineyard. On account of this and manifold other mistakes, Baskett's fellow printers dubbed this edition of the Bible "a basketful of errors". John Baskett was otherwise known for a careful and conscientious printer.

Protestant Bible of 1535, in the production of which his kinsman, Calvin, had played a modest part.

23 THE AITKEN BIBLE

It was in Philadelphia again that there ultimately materialised the earliest authenticated English Bible to be printed in America. This was the work of Robert Aitken, a recently arrived Scottish bookbinder, bookseller, printer, and publisher (more or less in that order), who in 1777, when the King of England's writ no longer effectively ran in the emerging United States, had brought out an English New Testament, and whose work and character so far commended themselves to Congress that it appointed him its official printer and publisher. Congress was becoming increasingly concerned over the growing scarcity of Bibles in the country owing to the difficulty of importing copies from England under existing conditions. When therefore Aitken embarked on the whole Bible and petitioned Congress for its sanction and support, the latter, after referring the Bible, via a Congressional Committee, to the two Chaplains of Congress for their approval, gladly extended to it at any rate their sanction, and it was published in 1782. The British Museum Bible Catalogue refers to the Aitken Bible as "the first edition of the English Bible avowedly printed in America".

24 OTHER EARLY AMERICAN BIBLES

MENTION should also be made here of Matthew Carey, bookseller, journalist, and printer, who had emigrated from Dublin and arrived on the Philadelphian scene some fourteen years later than Aitken. Carey brought out an edition of the Douai Roman Catholic Bible (see p. 38) eight years after the Aitken production of the King James Bible, successive editions of which he himself printed from 1801 onwards.

In the meantime the flood-gates had been opened and other localities were embarking upon their first Bible ventures. New York brought out its earliest Bible in 1792 in the shape of the Gaines Bible and, in the same year, a reprint of Brown's Self-interpreting Bible originally published in England. In 1812 the first Vermont Bible was printed at Windsor, while New Hampshire produced its first Bible in 1815 at Walpole. Other Bibles of interest were the Quaker Isaac Collins' subscription Bible of 1791 printed at Trenton, N.J.; Israel Alger's Pronouncing Bible in Boston in 1825; the great lexicographer Noah Webster's Bible undertaken with a view to correcting grammatical mistakes and obsolete words and phrases and printed at New Haven, Conn., in 1833; an edition of Tyndale's New Testament at Andover, Mass., in 1837; and taking something of a jump, the only translation to be executed by a woman, that of Julia Smith (1876). She was one of the five famous Glastonbury sisters and, after surviving the rest of her family, married at eighty-seven the Rev. Parker, aged eighty-six, and, it is believed, "lived happily ever after".¹

¹ Most of these particulars come from Marion Simm's "The Bible in America".

The year 1791 witnessed the publication by Isaiah Thomas, one of the foremost post-Colonial American printers as well as a pioneer of music printing in America, of two fine editions of the King James Bible which came from his presses at Worcester, whence he had transferred them from Boston on the eve of the battle of Lexington. Isaiah Thomas is not to be confused with another notable contemporary character, Charles Thomson, who enters into American Bible history with the first English translation made anywhere of the Greek Septuagint, and also a New Testament translation from the Greek. Thomson had arrived in America as an orphan of eleven years old after losing his father on the voyage over. He was befriended and given a good education, which he used to such advantage as to win a Master's degree at the then College of Pennsylvania. Later he became secretary of the first Continental Congress, and of the first United States Congress, and it was his name that appeared at the foot of the Congressional Committee's approval of the Aitken Bible. It is noteworthy that Thomson's Septuagint was published in 1808 by Robert Aitken's daughter Jane, who had taken over her father's business at his death, and that his New Testament translation was to enter into the Revised Version of the New Testament of 1881.

25 ENGLISH AND AMERICAN REVISED VERSIONS

THE English Revised Version of 1881/85 and the American counterpart of 1901 were largely the outcome of a volume of fresh source material which had become available since the appearance of the King James Bible of 1611. Almost before the latter had established itself, there had been presented to Charles I by the Patriarch of Constantinople—who had evidently come by it in his previous See of Alexandria—the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus.

The seventeenth century saw the birth of textural criticism which markedly developed during the eighteenth, to flourish in the nineteenth century with the brilliant work of Tischendorf who, after persistent efforts, succeeded in recovering from a monastery on Mt. Sinai successive portions of what is known as the Codex Sinaiticus—said to be associated with Constantine—which he edited together with other finds. Both this Codex and the Alexandrinus are now lodged in the British Museum.

Armed with this fresh material the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury appointed two English Companies, with which two committees of American scholars were subsequently invited to co-operate, to revise the King James Bible. The Revisers' Preface to the Old Testament affirmed that they "thought it no part of their duty to reduce (the language of the Authorised Version) to conformity with modern usage, and have therefore left untouched all archaisms, whether of language or construction, which though not in familiar use, cause a reader no embarrassment and lead to no misunderstanding". They added that they "are aware that in so doing they will disappoint the large English-speaking race on the other

side of the Atlantic, and it is a question on which (they) are prepared to agree to a friendly difference of opinion".

In the event the American section found itself so far unable to agree with their English confreres—largely on matters of language—that they subsequently embarked upon an American Revised Version which was published in 1901. The English revisers however, in their Preface to their joint New Testament revision, had written of the American committees: "We greatly acknowledge their care, vigilance, and accuracy; and we humbly pray that their labours and our own, thus happily united, may be permitted to bear a blessing to both countries, and to all English-speaking people throughout the world."

26 ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERY

MEN were by then beginning to wake up to the importance of archaeology and its bearing on Biblical history. In 1892 there was discovered, again on Mt. Sinai, a fourth-century palimpsest which yielded a supposedly second-century Syriac version of the Gospels, and in 1931 there came to light priceless portions of no less than eleven Old and New Testament writings, now known as the Chester Beatty Manuscripts. Then there is the so-called Rylands fragment identified in 1935 as representing verses from the Fourth Gospel, while the same year witnessed the publication of fragments of what appears to be a New Gospel. Both these last discoveries are believed to relate to the first half of the second century, which early origin, in the opinion of the late Sir Frederick Kenyon ("The Bible and Modern Scholarship"), serves to establish John's authorship of the Gospel that bears his name.

The dry sands of Egypt and Mesopotamia have surrendered a number of further papyri the commercial nature of some of which has thrown invaluable light on the meaning of certain Greek words in common use at the commencement of the Christian era and which enter into the New Testament; while of primary importance is the discovery in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in upper Egypt of a quantity of tracts, one of which, known as the Gospel of Thomas, represents a third- or fourth-century collection of sayings of the Master, some of which correspond to material in the Synoptic Gospels, and which it is claimed may well provide an independent link with the Jewish Christian Church of the Apostolic Age.

A further discovery of paramount significance is that of the Qumran and related manuscripts, more generally known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. These have come to light in the course of the last ten years or so in various caves near the Dead Sea in Palestine. In addition to a number of Apocryphal, intertestamentary and non-Scriptural writings, they include innumerable contemporary or near contemporary fragments and scrolls of virtually all the Old Testament Scriptures, which, on account of the Hebrew practice of destroying out-worn codexes after they had been copied, brings us in some cases a whole millennium closer to original sources.

Although opinions on the matter are not unanimous, these scrolls are generally

accepted as having originally represented the library of the once nearby Qumran community and to have been hurriedly hidden by the latter in the caves when their monastic centre was destroyed in A.D. 68 by Roman legionaries engaged in suppressing a Jewish revolt.

Among the scrolls thus discovered was one which has been called "The Book of Discipline", which shows the Qumran community to have been an offshoot of the Jewish sect of Essenes whose rules of life were governed by the worship of one God, purity of living, and brotherhood. Initiation was effected by means of baptism and it is almost certain that John the Baptist would originally have been associated with this desert community. They also believed that the Messiah was to come through them and it is not beyond the bounds of belief that Jesus, whose teachings have elements in common with theirs, though divergent at many points, may have also had some undisclosed connection with them up to the end, an intriguing possibility suggested by the fact that his cousin John was prepared to accept Jesus as the Messiah, and that of the three great Jewish sects, the Essenes was the only one to escape his censure.

This "Book of Discipline" finds an echo in one of the Egyptian discoveries known as the Zadokite document which parallels it at many points and is believed to have related to a Damascus section of the sect called the Covenanter which appears to have originated in an exodus of the Qumran community a few years before Christ, brought about either by the hatred of Herod or by an earthquake or by both. The existence of the Zadokite document raises the intriguing question of whether some members of the community may not at some point, like so many of their fellow countrymen before and since, have "gone down into Egypt".

As already intimated, there is more than one school of thought on the subject of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Much of the material still remains to be interpreted and published and, although the area in which they came to light has been well searched, it is by no means unlikely that further scrolls lie hidden in undiscovered corners. It can therefore be said that for the time being "the debate continues".

27 MODERN BIBLE VERSIONS

IN addition to the factor of source material, there is that of language. The Bible has come to be generally regarded as being couched in Scriptural language, whereas it is predominantly Elizabethan English. During relatively recent years there has arisen a demand for the Bible message in more readily intelligible language so that "he who runs may read", and the following are among the various versions which aspire to fulfil this purpose: Moffatt's Translation of the Bible into Modern English (1913), the work of a great Bible scholar (the New Testament rests largely on the critical text of a German scholar, H. Von Soden, while the Old derives from the Hebrew), Smith and Goodspeed's Translation into Modern Language (1935), the Old Testament portion of which is the work of a group of scholars under the direc-

tion of J. Powis Smith, and the New, the work of Edgar Goodspeed; The Bible in Basic English, a system evolved by C. K. Ogden which reduces the English vocabulary to 850 basic words (for the purpose of a Bible version this number was augmented by 50 special Scriptural words and 100 other words deemed essential for the purpose); the Bible itself was the work of a committee acting under the chairmanship of Prof. S. H. Hook of London University, and the Anglo-Saxon simplicity of its language endows it with a value of its own; The American Revised Standard Version (1952) which represents a revision into modern language of the American Revised Version of 1901 and was executed by a committee of Bible scholars commissioned by the National Council of Churches of Christ in U.S.A.

The following further versions also demand recognition: Schonfield's "The Authentic New Testament" which claims to be the only one to have been executed by a member of the Jewish race; Weymouth's New Testament in Modern Speech (1903), rendered from the original Greek; as was also the Letchworth New Testament, the work of the two brothers Ford who aimed at substituting dignified modern wording for archaic terms and obsolete grammatical forms, without prejudicing the King James Bible's Anglo-Saxon background. It is worthwhile noting here that Matthew Parker who, as previously mentioned, was mainly responsible for the Bishops' Bible of which the King James Bible was ostensibly a revision, was an ardent Anglo-Saxon revivalist and believed in the simpler discipline of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Then there are Phillips's "Letters to Young Churches" (1947), a rendering of the Epistles which many Bible students find helpful and inspiring; "The Gospels in Modern English" (1952), by the same hand; and Gerald Cornish's "St. Paul from the Trenches", left uncompleted at its author's death in action in the First World War and published in 1937. There are of course many other translations but we may be certain that they all have this in common, each has been a labour of love; each has its individual contribution to make to Bible history, whether it enters into the present book or not.

The same may well be said of another major achievement which cannot be excluded from our tally of Bible versions, Mgr. Knox's recent translation into modern English of the Vulgate, rendered with reference also to the Hebrew and Greek texts, which has received full recognition from the Roman Catholic authorities. To explain this work we must go back to the Reformation when Rome remained faithful to the Latin Vulgate which, although partly a translation of a translation, was considered closer to original sources than later Greek codexes. When, in Elizabeth Tudor's reign, Roman Catholic plots against the succession and the life of the Queen herself rendered necessary increasingly stringent measures against Roman Catholics, many of them fled overseas. The priests especially laid themselves open to persecution and although some of them, at the risk of their lives, pursued their ministrations in secret, most of them were compelled to flee the land. Resident Catholics, deprived of their pastors, tended to resort to English Protestant versions of the Scriptures, a proceeding which Rome naturally regarded with

disfavour. It was therefore decided to produce a version of the Vulgate in English and the Rheims New Testament, commenced at Douai and completed at Rheims, and published in 1572 was largely the work of William, later Cardinal, Allan, formerly Master of St. Mary's College, Oxford, and Gregory Martin of St. John's College, Oxford. (This was among the versions consulted by the makers of the King James Bible.) The corresponding Douai Old Testament appeared in 1609/10, but in both cases the very conscientiousness of the translators resulted, as had occurred in the case of Wycliffe's Bible, in sometimes painfully literal and stilted language. Mgr. Knox's version, which can be said to emulate Coverdale in poetic imagery, is the work of an eminent Bible scholar and man of letters. The following excerpt from the second chapter of Genesis, verses one to seven, with relevant footnotes, is quoted by kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Burns Oates and Washbourne:

"Thus heaven and earth and all the furniture of them were completed. By the seventh day,¹ God had come to an end of making, and rested, on the seventh day, with his whole task accomplished. That is why God gave the seventh day his blessing, and hallowed it, because it was the day on which his divine activity of creation finished.

"So were heaven and earth made; heaven and earth, alike of God's fashioning. But no woodland shrub had yet grown, no wild plant yet sprung up; the Lord God had not yet sent rain upon the ground, that still had no human toil to cultivate it; there was only spring-water which came up from the earth, and watered its whole surface. And now, from the clay of the ground, the Lord God formed man, breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and made man a living soul"²

"1. For 'by the seventh day' the Septuagint Greek has 'on the sixth day'.

"2. There is, here, a play upon words in the Hebrew; Adam, man, was made out of the ground, adamah. In the Latin text, the word Adam is translated 'the man' up to verse 18, and 'Adam' thenceforward."

The Knox Bible is dated 1945-49. A yet more recent Roman Catholic version, still in the making, is the so-called Confraternity Bible, the New Testament portion of which appeared in 1941 and the Old, up to the end of Ruth, in 1952.

The latest version however to appear on the Scriptural scene is a translation, by George Lamsa, of the Syriac Peshitta ("pure") Bible, the version of the Church in the East, said—controversially—to have been originally rendered into Syriac, an Aramaic dialect, in the second century, the Old Testament from the Hebrew and the New from the Greek.

It could well be averred that, except for your died-in-the-wool theologian, there is so little to choose between one Bible version and another, that the man-in-the-street could as readily work his passage into the kingdom with the help of the Vulgate as the King James Bible. That is a view of course with which many will disagree, but Eadie, a staunch protagonist of the English Protestant Bible, has this to say of the

Latin Vulgate, in his history of English Bible versions: "It did its appointed work, and brought peace and strength to many hearts, opening up to them a glimpse of the glorified One above and beyond the crucifix, creating a fulness of trust that felt no need of saintly mediation, nursing a loyalty to Him so intense and absorbing that it looked down upon the keys of St. Peter as a paltry symbol, while it sustained a confidence in Him that hard dogma could not deaden, an adoration of Him which a complicated and inflexible ritual could not petrify."¹

28 WELSH, IRISH AND SCOTTISH BIBLES

A FURTHER development, foreshadowed by Eliot's Indian Bible, has been the translation of the Scriptures into various native tongues and dialects. This has been predominantly the work of the great Bible Societies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society. Sections of the Bible have been translated into Scottish Gaelic and a Bible in Welsh was published in 1588. This last was the work, as to the Old Testament, of William Morgan, later Bishop of St. Asaph, who also revised and embodied with it William Salesbury's Welsh New Testament of 1567 in which Richard Davies, a one-time Genevan refugee who later took part in the King James Bible revision, and Thomas Huet, Precentor of St. David's, also materially assisted. The Welsh Bible in present use, published in 1620, is a revision of this version, carried out by the succeeding Bishop of St. Asaph, Richard Parry, assisted by Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd.

The history of the Bible in Ireland constitutes a fascinating story of its own. Lying as it virtually did beyond the confines of the Roman Empire, Ireland, up to the time of the Norman Conquest, paid scant allegiance to Rome, even so far as appointing its own Archbishops of Armagh. In those early centuries Ireland was renowned alike for monastic learning and for the hospitality it extended to foreign scholars. Some time between A.D. 600 and 900, according to authorities on the subject, Ireland produced a very lovely counterpart of the Latin Lindisfarne Gospels in the shape of the elaborately ornamented Book of Kells.² It is however uncertain if it was actually written at the monastery of Kells itself. This monastery is said to have been founded by St. Columba, and thither, some two hundred years after he and his little band of followers had settled on Iona, their successors returned, driven out of their island home by Viking raids, which the town of Kells itself was later to experience.

In spite of Ireland being predominantly Catholic, work on an Irish New Testament commenced within a matter of six years of that on the Welsh New Testament. It was however interrupted by the tragic assassination in 1685 of its original sponsor, Nicolas Walsh, Protestant Bishop of Ossory. His task was however shouldered by his assistants Kearney and Donellan, the latter of whom became Archbishop of

¹ "The English Bible" by John Eadie, Vol. II, page 110.

² "The Book of Kells", by Sir Arthur Sullivan.

Tuam, and it was ultimately completed by another Archbishop of Tuam, William Daniel. It was not however published until 1603 (dated the previous year), being printed with type said to have been furnished Kearney by Queen Elizabeth for an Irish Catechism published some thirty years earlier.

An Irish Old Testament began to take shape in the 1630's through the efforts of a devout English divine, William Bedell, then serving as Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, who employed a native scholar, Murtagh King, to do the actual work of translation. Completion was again frustrated by the Irish Rebellion of 1641 when Bedell, whose efforts to promote the welfare of his adopted fellow-countrymen, Catholic and Protestant alike, was so generally recognised that he was one of the very few, if not the only, Protestant divine not compelled to flee the country. His Old Testament however remained unpublished at his death and ultimately came into the hands of Robert Boyle, a son of the first Earl of Cork and founder of the Royal Society, who published it in 1685.

We have mentioned a Bible in Scottish Gaelic (N.T. 1767, and the whole Bible in 1807). Although the Wycliffe Bible is said to have enjoyed a wide, if secret, circulation in Scotland, where, even in Catholic days, the great lairds were too independent to take kindly to Papal or other interference, it was not until after the death of that belligerent Reformer John Knox that conditions in Scotland under the Regency of the able and powerful Morton were sufficiently stable for an edition of the Genevan Bible to be printed there. As the result of a petition to the General Assembly, an Edinburgh printer and bookseller named Bassendyne, together with Arbuthnot, another printer, had obtained permission to put in hand an Edinburgh edition of the Genevan Bible, for which purpose funds were provided from ecclesiastical sources and the undertaking subjected to official supervision. Production appears to have been at first put in the hands of Bassendyne whose name alone appears on the New Testament published in 1576. The project subsequently hung fire, partly through disagreements, and partly perhaps due to sickness of mind and body on the part of Bassendyne who shortly afterwards passed on. After obtaining from the Privy Council sole charge of the work, Arbuthnot completed the whole Bible in 1579.

29 BIBLE PRINTERS

THE subject of Bible printers demands a section to itself. Perhaps none of them attained the stature of the great Renaissance printers such as Christophe Plantin of Antwerp, Aldus Manutius of Venice, or even Johann Froben of Basle, the publisher of Erasmus's Greek and Latin New Testament of 1561; but they faced greater risks. There was Peter Quentel of Cologne, the son of one printer and father of another, whose work on Tyndale's New Testament was so rudely terminated. And James Nicholson, who published the first English printed Bible in 1535, and two years later printed the first edition on native soil. He also printed Coverdale's own New

Testament version, known as the *Diglot*, but so badly that its author was compelled to repudiate it and have a further edition printed in Paris and published by Grafton and Whitchurch.

Richard Grafton, chronicler turned publisher, and Edward Whitchurch, both merchant grocers of standing, were the most prominent of Reformation publishers in England. According to "The General History of Printing" by S. Palmer, a London printer (1737), Grafton and Whitchurch first come into the picture with an attempt to get an edition of Tyndale's New Testament printed in Hainburg in 1535. Be that as it may, in 1537 they published the quasi-Tyndale "Matthew" Bible and, two years later, published and partly printed the Great Bible. The association of two merchant grocers with publishing probably owed itself to the fact that, during the Middle Ages, the trade in manuscripts was largely carried on by mercers and grocers. The next version, the Genevan Bible, was printed in Geneva by Rowland Hall, himself one of the little band of refugees who, among them, produced and defrayed the cost of publishing this version. The Bishops' Bible was printed by Richard Jugge at "The Sign of the Bible" under the shadow of St. Paul's. In accord with the punning habits of the times, one of his printing devices (not that employed in the Bishops' Bible) was a nightingale singing "Jug, jug, jug". John Day, perhaps the foremost English printer of his day—if we may ourselves be permitted the unavoidable pun—and one of the earliest printers of music in England, had as one of his devices a rising sun with the words, "Arise, for it is day". No relationship has been traced between John Day and the printer of the Bay Psalm Book.

It was Robert, son of Christopher Barker, printer of the later editions of the Bishops' Bible and the English editions of the Genevan Bible, who published, seemingly at a considerable loss in the first instance, the King James Bible of 1611. The patent to print the so-called Authorised Version was to remain in the hands of the Barker family for nearly a century, after which it passed to another well-known Bible-printing family, the Basketts, whom, it will be recalled, we met with in connection with the Kneeland and Green Bible. The present printers of the King James Bible are the Oxford and Cambridge University presses, and, under Letters Patent, Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode and William Collins and Sons in Scotland.

30 CONCLUSION

FROM Welsh, Scottish Gaelic and Irish to Persian, Polish and Sanscrit with every variety of European, Asian and African dialect in between, it can be well said that the multiplicity of tongues illustrated by the story of the Tower of Babel has yielded to the condition described in the Acts of the Apostles: "How hear we every man in his own tongue". This has been effected almost entirely through the spread of the Word through the English Bible, which surely constitutes the strongest link in the chain that binds together the two great English-speaking peoples.

More than any other book, the English Bible represents a weapon forged in the

fires of affliction. It is a product of that period in history when the flame of religious zeal burnt so fiercely in England that whereas few Continental Reformers were called upon to suffer for their faith, virtually every English Reformer of note except Coverdale perished at the stake. These included Bilney, the earliest English martyr, Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Convent of Austin Friars at Cambridge, and a pioneer of the New Learning, Tyndale's one-time helper, Frith, Tyndale himself and Rogers, his friend and literary executor, together with the Oxford Martyrs, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley.¹

Despite a certain—shall we say?—flexibility of character, no one had done more for the English Bible than Thomas Cranmer, first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom the story is told that, after the rescinding of permission for the Clergy in England to marry, Cranmer used to convey his German wife from house to house in a large packing case, from which on one occasion the porters were astonished to hear screams proceeding. They had set the good lady down wrong side up! Throughout the last restrictive years of Henry's reign, Cranmer almost alone succeeded in remaining to the end on terms of precarious friendship with the decadent monarch who may perhaps have still remembered his debt to Cranmer over his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. During Edward VI's succeeding reign, it was Cranmer's task to re-introduce the Protestant standpoint into the churches, and it was he who brought out in 1549 the first English Prayer Book. Surely he was privileged to hear, in his last agonised moments, an echo of his Master's words, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Going back into the origins of the Bible, we find the same story, prophet and seer often persecuted unto death by their own people largely because the former saw

¹ A noteworthy feature of the English Reformation was the extraordinary measure of fellowship between the members of the little group of English Reformers. It is unlikely that Tyndale would have known of the role his own New Testament and Pentateuch translations played in the Coverdale Bible, but it would not have occurred to Coverdale that Tyndale would resent this piracy. There is, again, nothing to indicate that Coverdale, in his turn, took exception to Rogers drawing on his Bible for the "Matthew" version. Indeed, Coverdale, normally the embodiment of prudence, boldly risked his life to stand by Rogers in his hour of trial during the Marian persecutions.

This contrasted strikingly with the situation on the Continent where, for instance, Luther and Zwingli were so sharply at odds that only with difficulty—and as it proved in vain—were they brought to face each other over the Conference table in the Knights' Hall at the Castle of Marburg. Again, although Erasmus remained on terms of close friendship with Luther's companion, Melanchthon, and admitted to much ground in common with Luther himself, there developed an irreconcilable conflict of views between the gentle Dutch scholar and the outspoken German Reformer. The latter was at no pains to conceal his contempt for what he regarded as the other's cowardice and weakness of character in refusing to break with Rome; while Erasmus in his turn deplored what he felt to be Luther's savage dogmatism. "It seems that gentleness achieves more than turbulence," he once wrote to Luther; "it was through gentleness that Christ conquered the world." Yet again we find Calvin strongly resenting the presence of guests with religious views other than his own, beneath the hospitable roof of that great-hearted humanist Margaret of Angoulême, where he found refuge at one stage of his career.

beyond narrow Levitical codes the vision of the Christ; beyond the idea of purely national deliverance and the supremacy of a Chosen People to universal salvation through the Christ. It is surely mankind at large which potentially represents the Chosen People in the degree that men individually choose to obey God's laws of brotherhood and Truth. In this sense the mantle of Israel has fallen fairly and squarely upon the shoulders of the English-speaking peoples, and in this connection it is interesting to consider that the commencement of recorded English history coincided with the inception of the Christian era, the birth of Jesus having occurred halfway between Julius Caesar's tentative expeditions to Britain of 55 and 54 B.C. and the wider conquest of the island set in train by the Emperor Claudius' legions in A.D. 43.

Yet if the English-speaking peoples be found marching in the van of humanity's pilgrimage into the promised land of brotherhood and peace, no claim of spiritual leadership is thereby implied. That is an office still pertaining to the Christ, the "pillar of cloud by day" and of "fire by night", which is gradually spiritualising human consciousness, revealing the concrete holiness of being and—transcending narrow sectarian creeds—guiding or impelling thereto all the races of earth. Despite the fact that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels"; that, as Sir Thomas More wrote in his "Utopia", "It is not possible for all things to be well unless all men are good, which I think will not be these many years"; in spite of differences of standpoint, approach, and understanding among the devotees of the English Bible, the latter remains one of the most powerful instruments in being for "the healing of the nations".

God has ordained His holy Writ,
His living law of Love, to run
Throughout the earth, to order it
And prove the nations one.

Rejoicing in His government
Shall all men everywhere be blest,
The veil of enmity be rent,
And earth at last at rest.

TABLE OF
PRINCIPAL ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND PARAPHRASES OF THE
SCRIPTURES

<i>Circa</i> A.D. 670	Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrases ¹
735	Bede's Translation of John's Gospel
Ninth century	Anglo-Saxon Gloss embodied in earlier Latin Psalter ²
do.	King Alfred's Translations of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and parts of the Psalter
Tenth do.	Aldred's Anglo-Saxon Gloss embodied in Lindisfarne Latin Vulgate Gospels ³
Ninth/tenth do.	Fearman's independent translation of Matthew's Gospel in the Rushworth Gloss, a copy of the Lindisfarne Gospels
Tenth/eleventh do.	Wessex Gospels, the first separate translation ⁴
Eleventh do.	Ælfric's Scriptural Paraphrases
Fourteenth do.	Richard Rolle's Psalter
1380	Wycliffe New Testament
1382	Wycliffe Bible, earlier version
1484	Caxton's "Golden Legend"
1525/6	Tyndale's New Testament
1530	"Argentine" Psalter, an English translation of Bucer's German Psalter rendered from the Hebrew
1535	Coverdale's Bible
1537	"Matthew's" Bible
1538	Coverdale's New Testament (Diglot)
1539	Great Bible
do.	Taverner Bible
1557	Whittingham's New Testament
1560	Genevan Bible
1567	Welsh New Testament
1568	Bishops' Bible
1582	Rheims New Testament
1588	Welsh Bible
1602/3	Irish New Testament
1609/10	Douai Old Testament
1640	Bay Psalm Book
1663	Eliot's Indian Bible
1685	Irish Old Testament

¹ Bodleian, Junius XI MS.

² B.M. Cotton, MS., Vespasian A.1.

³ B.M. Cotton M.S., Nero D IV.

⁴ Bodleian.

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1881	Revised Version New Testament
1885	Revised Version Old Testament
1901	American Revised Version
1903	The New Testament in Modern Speech, Weymouth
1913	Moffatt's Translation
1935	Smith and Goodspeed Bible
1941	New Testament in Basic English
1945	Mgr. Knox's New Testament Translation
1946	American Revised Standard New Testament
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do.	Mgr. Knox's Old Testament Translation
1952	American Revised Standard Version (whole Bible).

HEXAPLA

PSALM 139:7-12

I CORINTHIANS 13:4-8

Coverdale. Genevan. Moffatt. Smith and Goodspeed. Basic English.
American Revised Standard Version

COVERDALE

Psalm 138: 7-12¹

Whither shal I go then from thy sprete?
Or, whither shal I fle from thy presence?
Yf I clymme vp in to heauen, thou art
there: yf I go downe to hell, thou art there
also. Yf I take the wynges of the mornynge
& remayne in the vttemost parte of the
see: Euen there also shal thy honde lede
me, and thy right-hande shal holde me.
Yf I saye: peraduerture the darcknesse shal
couer me, then shal my night be turned to
daye. Yee the darcknesse is no darcknesse
with the, but the night is as cleare as the
daye, the darcknesse & light are both alike.

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

Loue is pacient & curteous, loue envyeth
not, loue doth not frowardly, is not puffed vp,
dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not hir awne,
is not prouoked vnto anger, thynketh not
euell, reioyseth not ouer iniquyte, but
reioyseth in the trueth, beareth all thinges,
beleueth all thinges, hopeth all thinges,
suffreth all thinges.

Though propacienges fayle, or tunges
ceasse, or knowlege perishe, yet loue falleth
neuer awaye.

GENEVAN

Psalm 139: 7-12

7 Whether shal I go from thy Spirit? or
whether shal I flee from thy presence?
8 If I ascend into heauen, thou art there: if
I lie downe in hel, thou art there.
9 Let me take the wings of the morning,
& dwell in the vttermost partes of the
sea:
10 Yet thether shal thinc hand lead me, &
thy right hand holde me.
11 If I saie, Yet the darkenes shal hide me,
euen the night shalbe light about me.
12 Yea, the darkenes hideth not from thee:
but the night shineth as the daie: the
darkenes and light are bothe alike.

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

4 Loue suffreth long: it is bountiful: loue
envieth not: loue doeth not boast it self:
it is not puffed vp:
5 It disdaineth not: it seketh not her owne
things: it is not prouoked to anger: it
thinketh not euil:
6 It reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth
in the trueth.
7 It Suffreth all things: it beleueth all
things: it hopeth all things: it endureth
all things.
8 Loue doeth neuer fall away.

¹ Coverdale rendered his "Goostly psalmes and spirituall songs" from the Latin, in which our present Nos. 9 and 10 in the King James version, which derives from the Hebrew, are combined in Psalm 9. Similarly No. 147 in the Hebrew is divided, in the Vulgate, into Nos. 146/7. While therefore the total number of Psalms remains the same, all Coverdale's numbering between and including Psalms 10 and 146 runs one behind the King James numbers.

7 Where could I go from thy Spirit,
Where could I flee from thy face?
8 I climb to heaven?—but thou art there;
I nestle in the netherworld?—and there
thou art!
9 If I darted swift to the dawn, to the
verge of ocean afar,
10 thy hand even there would fall on me,
thy right hand would reach me
11 If I say, "The dark will screen me,
night will hide me in its curtains,"
12 yet darkness is not dark to thee, the
night is clear as daylight.

7 Whither shall I go from thy spirit?
And whither shall I flee from thy
presence?
8 If I ascend to the heavens, thou art
there!
If I make Sheol my bed, thou art there
also!
9 If I take up the wings of the dawn,
And dwell at the back of the sea,
10 Even there thy hand will guide me,
And thy right hand will hold me
11 If I say, "Darkness will surely cover
me",
Then the night becomes light about me.
12 Darkness makes it not too dark for
thee;
But the night is as bright as the day;
Darkness and light are both alike to
thee.

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

4 Love is very patient, very kind. Love
knows no jealousy; love makes no
parade, gives itself no airs,
5 is never rude, never selfish, never irri-
tated, never resentful;
6 love is never glad when others go wrong,
love is gladdened by goodness,
7 always slow to expose, always eager to
believe the best, always hopeful, always
patient.
8 Love never disappears

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

4 Love is patient and kind. Love is not
envious or boastful. It does not put on
airs.
5 It is not rude. It does not insist on its
rights. It does not become angry. It is
not resentful.
6 It is not happy over injustice, it is only
happy with truth.
7 It will bear anything, believe anything,
hope for anything, endure anything.
8 Love will never die out.

Psalm 139: 7-12

7 Where may I go from your spirit? how may I go in flight from you?
 8 If I go up to heaven, you are there: or if I make my bed in the underworld, you are there.
 9 If I take the wings of the morning, and go to the farthest parts of the sea;
 10 Even there will I be guided by your hand, and your right hand will keep me.
 11 If I say, Only let me be covered by the dark, and the light about me be night;
 12 Even the dark is not dark to you; the night is as bright as the day: for dark and light are the same to you.

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

4 Love is never tired of waiting; love is kind; love has no envy; love has no high opinion of itself, love has no pride;
 5 Love's ways are ever fair, it takes no thought for itself; it is not quickly made angry, it takes no account of evil;
 6 It takes no pleasure in wrongdoing, but has joy in what is true;
 7 Love has the power of undergoing all things, having faith in all things, hoping all things.
 8 Though the prophet's word may come to an end, tongues come to nothing, and knowledge have no more value, love has no end.

Psalm 139: 7-12

7 Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
 8 If I ascend to heaven, thou art there! If I make my bed in Sheol, thou art there!
 9 If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea,
 10 even there thy hand shall lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.
 11 If I say, "Let only darkness cover me, And the light about me be night,"
 12 even the darkness is not dark to thee, the night is bright as the day; for darkness is as light with thee.

I Corinthians 13: 4-8

4 Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful;
 5 it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful;
 6 it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right.
 7 Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.
 8 Love never ends.

lum. Se fætmod þis flode. þær nof. By yelthian.
lyndnis cynn. Symle bis by hstandna þe hit hwoh
tū. fytance sāt fytanar. fydor bætud.



2 A page, depicting Noah and the Ark, from the Junius XI MS. of Cædmon
The Bodleian Library, Oxford

As he hat spokēn to oure fadres to
Almaham & to his seed w^to woldis.
¶ For lope ware dwelude w^tin
as yre wouens & tūrned aschē i
to vire hōus. ¶ Sopely pe tūme
of vetyng child is fullid to eli
zabed & sche childide alone And
ve nereburs & cosynes of yre her
den for pe lord hadd imaginidē
his merē w^tur: & pei paululen
to hūm. And it is don in pe extrye
day pelecamen forto cariode pe
child: & yei clepidē bnu & acarie bi
name of his fadur his iuodir an
sverunge seide ray: Gut he schal
be clepid ioon. And pei saldu to
hire for woman is in y^t kyn: pat
is clepid bi yis name. Sopely pei
maiden a signe to his fadur: Wo
he woldē hym forto be clepid. And
he axunge apotuel wroot schwige
joon is his name. And alle me
woundidē. ¶ For lope his iouope
is openid audou & his tūnge: and
te spale blesinge god. And dide
is mad on alle here neketors: &
pele wordin wcren puplischid
vpon alle pe hooly placis of iude
And alle men pat herden puttide
in herre schwige. Whoo gesell
you yis child schal be. And lope
w^t ye hōud of pe lord was vry
hun. And zacarie his fadur is
fullid w^t pe hooly goost: and
xplicade schwige. Blessid pe lord
god of yrael: for he hat visitid.
& mad redencion of his peple.
And he hat retid to us an hōue
of heelpē: in pe hōus of daup the
child. als he spale bi pe iouope
of pe hooly iheris: pat ben fro
pe woldē heylē. Four emperes:
& of pe hōud of alle men pat la
tideu us. To be don nere is
oure fadres & to haue iugur on
pe hooly testament. The oop

par he shwo to abraham oure fader
hi set to heire to us. That we
deliuerid fro ye hand of oure en-
nies. serue to hym w^t ouren dñe
de. In yoluuele i ryt wiluelle bido
re hym alle oure dayes. And you
chuld schalt be clepid ye ipbete of
ye hystre. for you schalt go before
ye face of ye lord forto walre to y^r
hus weches. forto reue sacre of
yeele to his peple. in to reuissu-
oun of herte shuress. Si ye enteulys
of ye mercie of oure god. in ye w^t h^r
che he spriuyngyng up fro au h^r;
hay visid us. forto reue lyst to
hem pat fitten in derkness and
in schadewe of deyn. forto dresse
oure feet in to ye waye of pees.
Gospyl pe chuld waride i was
wolontid in spret. i was in deser-
tel to ye day of his schewyng
to israel.

For lope it is don in yo day
es amaidement wente out
in celar august or noble pat
al ye world schulde be discry
ued. This furste discryvynge
was mad of chyryn mistic or be
pere of cyrie. And alle men we
ten pat hei schulden make pro
fessioun oþ knowlechinge. And
bi hym self into his cytee. Sop
þi ioseph stede up fro galilee of
ye citee nazareth: in to nidee tow
rystee of daump pat is clepid
bethlein. for pat he was of ye
hous & weyne of daump: pat he
schulde knowlechinge. wt waner
spousid to hym wak schulde. Sop
þi it don whamue hei werei per
re daures don fulfullid pat schulde
bere child. And ech child
dide hym furste boym. lone and
blaggis hym in clopis: & perte
him in a cradie. for vere was nat

And he sente hym his seruauntes all this
feestis / And bidde them saye that Jacob
his seruaunt sente to hym this presente
and that he foloweth after / And Jacob
thought to plesse hym with yefes /
The nyght following hym thought a man
wrastlyng with hym all that nyght tyll
the mornynge / And when he salwe he
myght not ouercome hym / he hurted the
spynelis of his thye / that he halced the
wof / and said to hym / late me goo and
leue me for it is in the mornynge / Thenne
Jacob answardon / I shal not leue the but
yf thou blesse me / he said to hym / What
is thy name / he answardon Jacob / Thenne
he said / Nay said he / thy name shal nos
more be called Jacob / but Israbel / Ifas
yf thou hast ben strunge ayenst godly hooli
muche more shalt thou preuaylle ayenst
men / Thenne Jacob said to hym / What
is thy name tell me / he answardon / Wher
demandest thou my name whiche is mer
wonderous / And he blesshed hym in the
same place / Jacob called the name of
that same place phaniel sayenge / I haue
seen our lordys face to face / and my soule
is made sauf / And anon as he was
passed phaniel the sonne arose / he halced
on his foot / therfore the chyldren of

The Gospell.

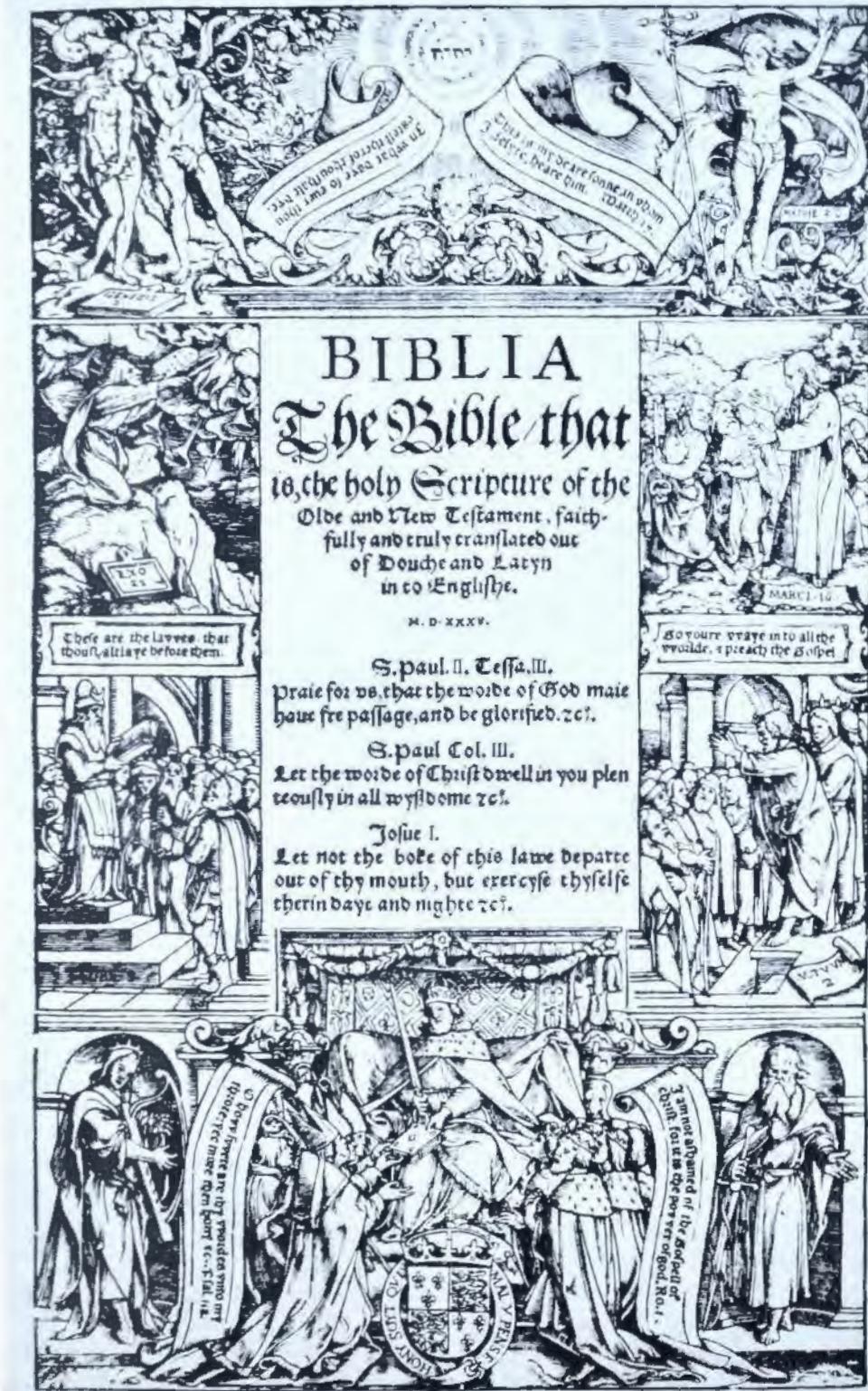
gentyls do: for they thinke that they shal be her-
de for there moche bablyngs sake. Beven stly-
kethem there fore. For your fathir knoweth
wher of ye have neade before ye are off him. Af-
ter thys maner there fore praye ye.

Goure fathir which arte in heven halowed
bethyname. Let thy kyngdō come. Thy wyll
be fulfilled as well in erth as hitys in heven.
G iver sthis dāye oure dayly breade. And for-
geve vs oure trespasses eve as we for geve the
which trespasses vs. Leede vs not into tempta-
cion, but deliue vs from y bell. Amen. For ad
yff yesball for geve other men there trespasses,
yours fathir i heven shal also for geve you. but ad
ye wyll not for geve men theretrespasses/ no mor-
re shal youre fathir for geve youre trespasses.

Moreover when ye faste/ be not sad as the
pocryts are. For they disfigure their faces/ that
hit myght apere vnto men that they faste. Vere-
ly y say vnto you/ they have there rewarde. But
thou/ whe thou fastest/ a noynte thyne heed/ ad
washe thy face/ that it apperenott vnto men ho
we that thou fastest: but vnto thy fathir which
is in secrete. and thy fathir wch leith in secrete/
shall rewarde the openly.

Gaddre not treasure together on erth/ where
rust ad mothes corrupte/ and where theves bre-
ake through and steale. But gaddre yet treasure
togedder in heven/ where neither rust/ nor moth/
corupe. ad wher theves neither breake vp/ nor
yet steale. For wheare soever youre treasure ys/
there are youre hertes also.

The light of thy body is thyne eye. Wherfore



6 Original title-page of the Coverdale Bible

The first boke of Wo- ses, called Genesis. Fo. 1.

The first dayes worke.

The seconde dayes worke.

The thirde dayes worke.



The fourth dayes worke.

The fift dayes worke.

The sixte dayes worke.



The first Chapter.

2
4. Edd. d.
Eccl. 18.2
Iere. 10.6
Heb. 11.6
Esa. 44.6



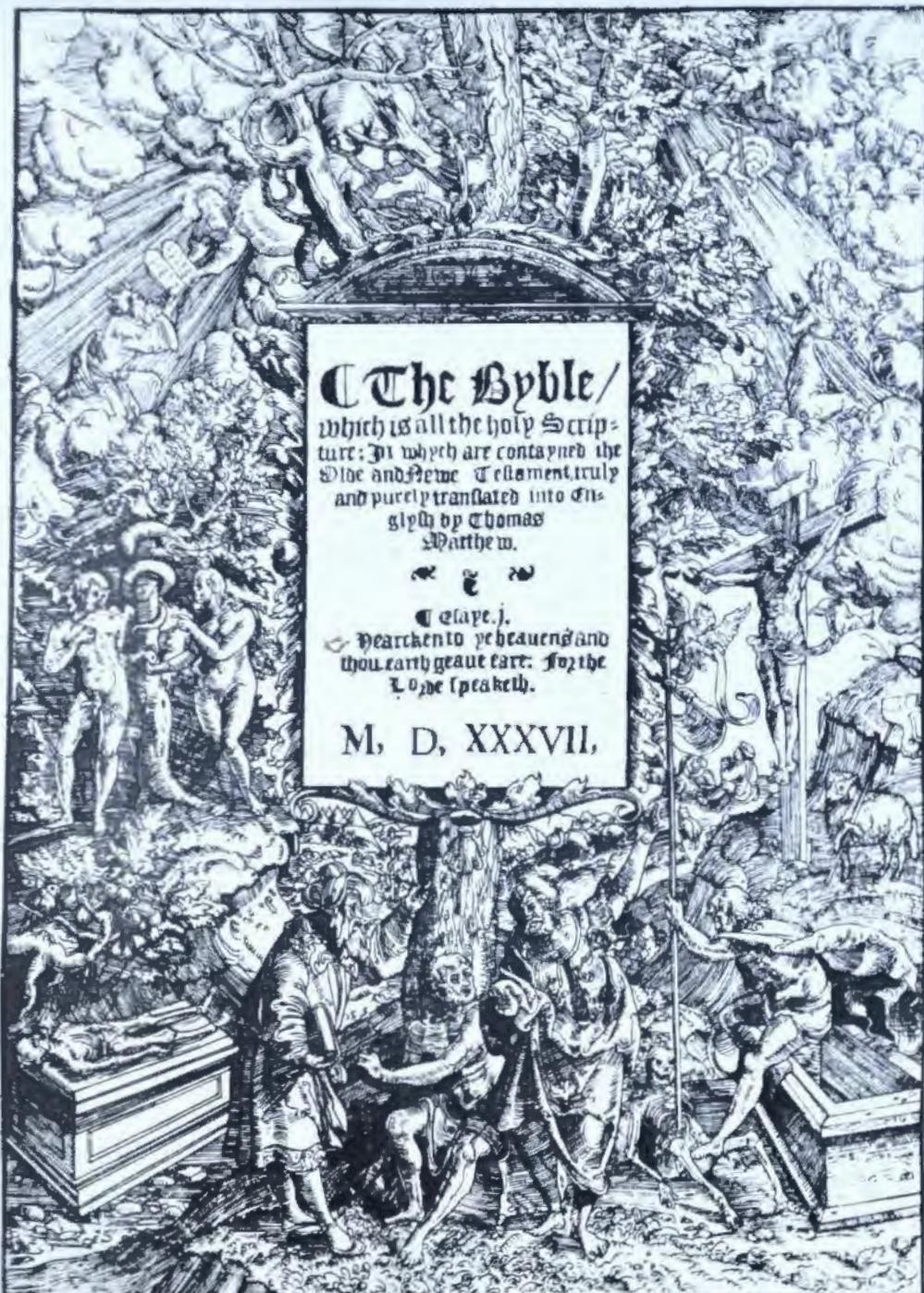
It begyn nyng God created heauuen & earth: and of earth was royd and empte, and darcnes was vpon the depe, & of spacie of God moued vpon the water. And God sayde: let there be light. & there was light. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God deuybed the light from the darcnes, and called the lighthe. Daye: and the darcnes, & light. Then of the eueninge and morynge was made the first daye.

And God sayde: let there be a firmament betwene the waters, and let it beuybe a waters a sunber. Then God made a firmament, and parred the waters vnder the firmament, from the waters aboue the firmament: And so it came to passe. And God called the firmament, Heauen. Then of the eueninge & morynge was made the seconde daye.

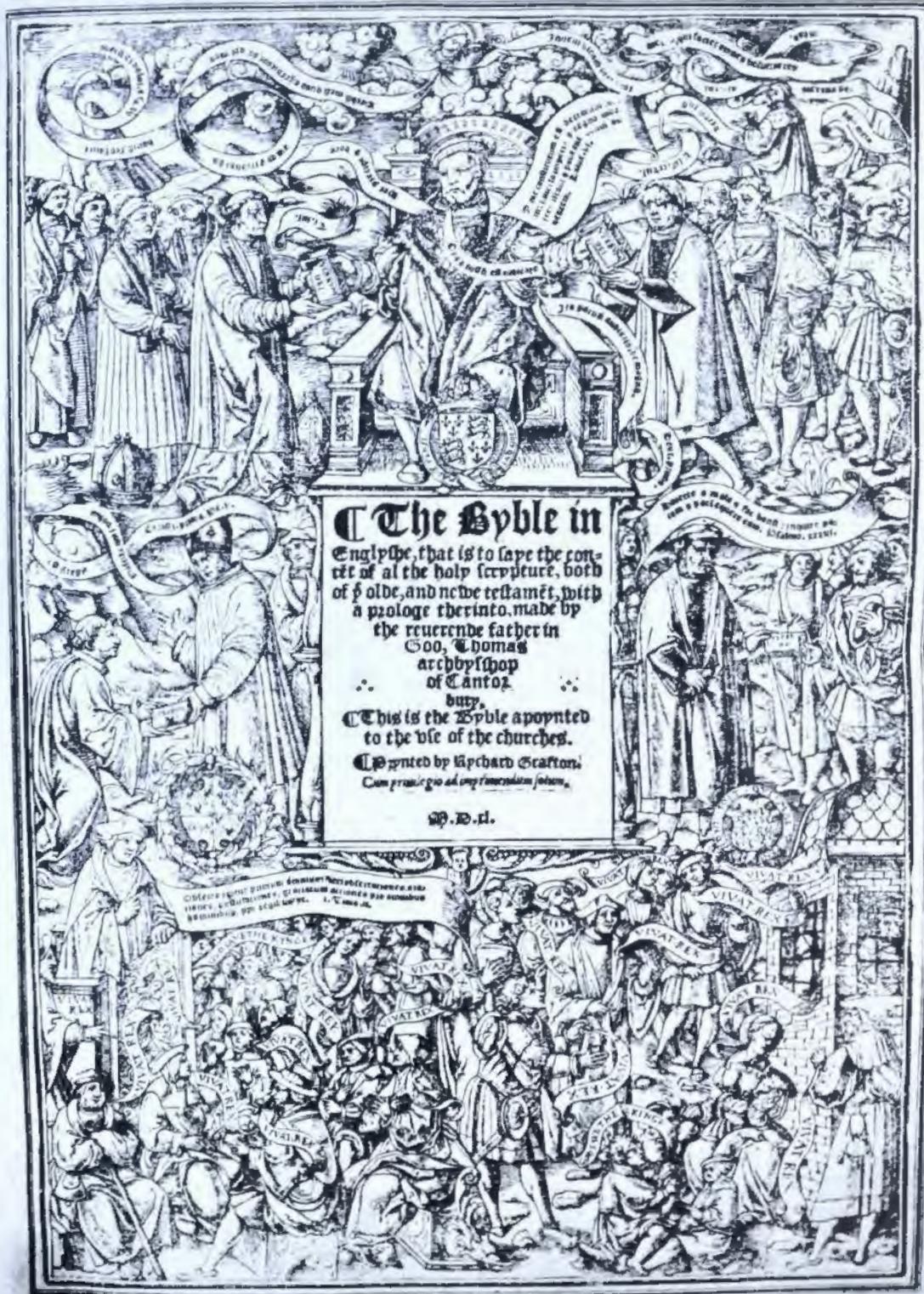
And God sayde: let the waters vnder her Job 10.6 b
Pro. 8.5 vuen gather the selues vnto one place, & the drye londe maye appaere. And so it came to passe. And God called the drye londe. Earth: and the gatheringe together of waters cal led he, & See. And God sawe it was good.

And God sayde: let the earth bringe forth grene grasse and herbe, that beareth seide: & fruite full trees, that maye bear fruite, every one after his kynde, hauyng their owne seide in them selues vpon the earth. And so it came to passe. And the earth brought forth grene grasse and herbe, & beareth seide every one after his kynde, & trees bearinge fruite, &

3



Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lyce.



THE BIBLE
A N D
HOLY SCRIPTURES
CONTENED IN
THE OLDE AND NEWE
Testament.

TRANSLATED ACCORD-
ing to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With
the best translations in diuers langages.

WITH MOSTE PROFITABLE ANNOTA-
tions vpon all the hard places, and other things of great
importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.

FEARETE NOT STANDSTILE, AND BEHOLDE
the saluation of the Lord, which he will shew to you that day. Exod. 14.13.



but the Lord delivereth them out of evils. Psal. 34.7.

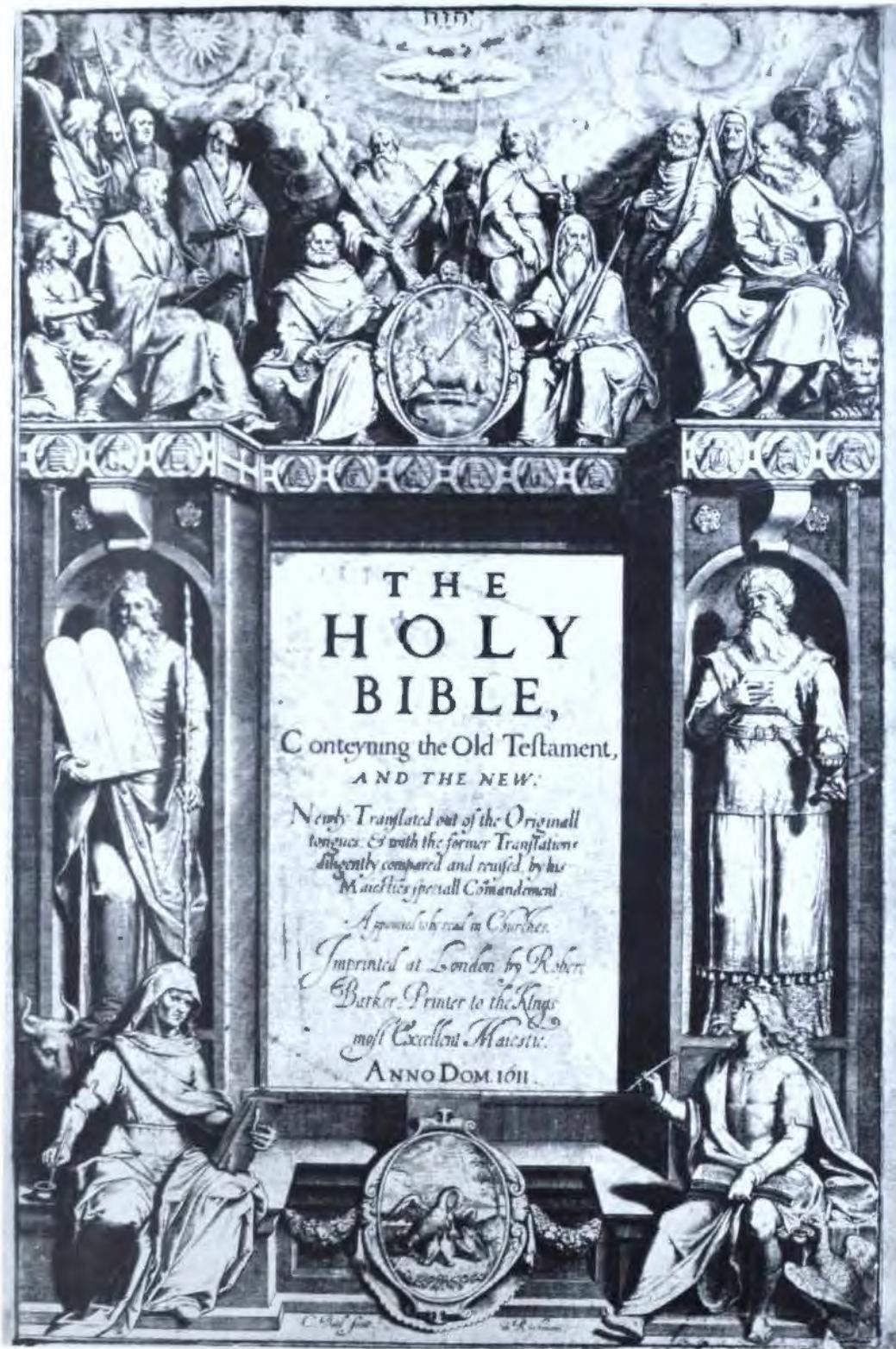
THE LORD SHAL FIGHT FOR YOU: THEREFORE
boldly you your place. Exod. 14.14.

AT GENEVA
PRINTED BY ROULAND RALE
M. D. L. X.

The.holie.Bible.



11 Title-page of the Bishops' Bible
The British Museum



12 Title-page of the Editio Princeps of the King James Bible

The British Museum



13 New Testament title-page of the Editio Princeps of the King James Bible



14 Title-page of a 1599 edition of the Genevan Bible
The British Museum

THE
VVHOLE
BOOKE OF PSALMES
*Faithfully
TRANSLATED into ENGLISH
Metre.*

Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de-
claring not only the lawfullnes, but also
the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance
of singing Scripture Psalms in
the Churches of
God.

Col. III.

Let the word of God dwell plenteously in
you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhort-
ing one another in Psalms, Hymnes, and
spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with
grace in your hearts.

James v.

If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if
any be merry let him sing psalms.

Imprinted

1640

THE
HOLY BIBLE:
CONTAINING THE
OLD TESTAMENT
AND THE NEW.

Translated into the
INDIAN LANGUAGE.
AND

Ordered to be Printed by the *Commissioners of the United Colonies*
in *NEW-ENGLAND*,

At the Charge, and with the Consent of the
CORPORATION IN ENGLAND
For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians
in New-England.

C A M B R I D G E:

Printed by *Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson.*

MDCLXIII.

THE
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Containing the OLD and NEW
TESTAMENTS:
Newly translated out of the
ORIGINAL TONGUES;
And with the former
TRANSLATIONS
Diligently compared and revised.



PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY R.AITKEN, AT POPE'S
HEAD, THREE DOORS ABOVE THE COFFEE
HOUSE, IN MARKET STREET.
M.DCC.LXXXIII.

17 Title-page of the Aitken Bible: displaying the Arms of the State of Pennsylvania

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THE following Bibliography is offered with some diffidence. Not all the books cited have been read from cover to cover. On the other hand a number which do not appear here have been consulted in relation to particular points. The cognoscenti will doubtless raise their eyebrows and exclaim, "What, not Pumpernickle's 'History of the Ampersand in the Apocryphal Writings'? Fellow doesn't know a thing." I bow my head in shame. Nevertheless I'm inclined to the opinion that one could write a passable book on most subjects with no other aids than the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Dictionary of National Biography. I am however not open to a challenge on the matter.

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